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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Congo: All the King's Horses...

AN EDITORIAL

No Language but a Cry

COLM BROGAN

Democracy: Weather Report

FRANCIS G. WILSON

Articles and Reviews by . . . . WILLMOORE KENDALL
FORREST DAVIS · RUSSELL KIRK · W. H. VON DREELE
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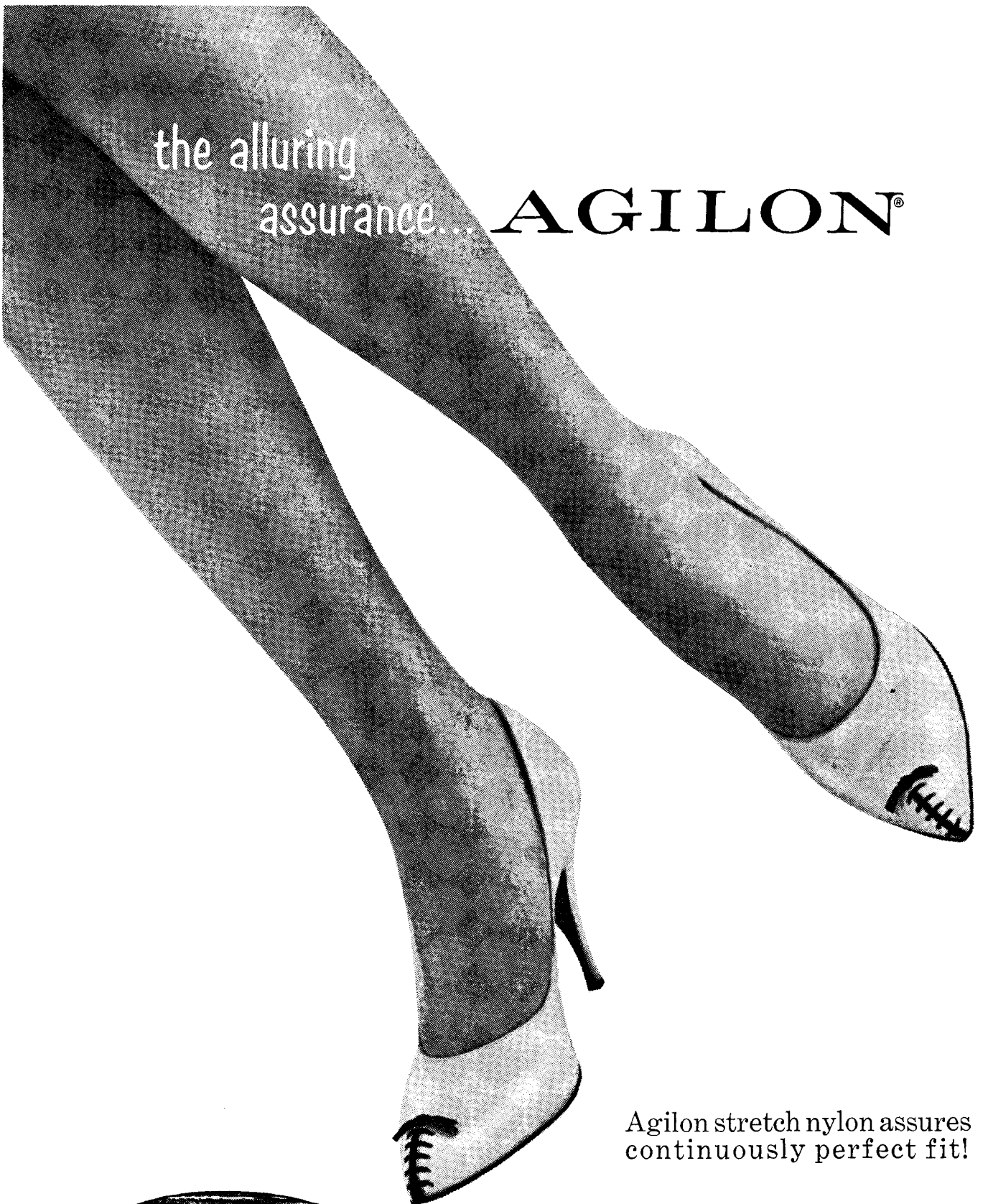

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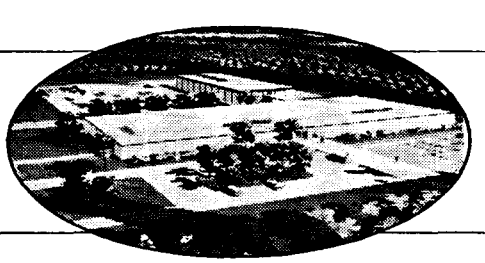

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ **Willmoore Kendall,** an editor whose name has been seen with unhappy infrequency in NR's pages this past year, applies his profession of political scientist to the Goldwater *Manifesto*. He comes up with an unexpected personal opinion, to which both admirers and detractors of the Senator from Arizona will file vigorous objections. . . . For the same profession, practiced in his case at the University of Illinois, **Francis G. Wilson,** whose name is happily seen here for the first time, strips the new clothes from the emperor Democracy, to whom we must all do rhetorical obeisance in our day. . . . Three of the angriest of Britain's postwar young men, two of them now grown to middle age and surtax income levels, but no less nasty for those often mellowing influences, are dissected with a cold and surgical eye by **Colm Brogan,** writing from his London heath. . . . **W. H. von Dreele,** who manages the unexpected combination of a job for a leading corporation and free lance verse (some of it for NR) plus an occasional article on how to grow flowers, writes, as an addendum to *Brown* vs. *Board of Education,* a field report on school segregation in New York City.

➔ **Russell Kirk** brings a double blessing, with a cogent column explaining exactly why federal subsidy of education will do what its opponents have always predicted it would do and its advocates have always intended it to do, and an astute review of the perils of suburbia as recorded in the current best seller, *The Split-Level Trap.* Dr. Kirk, by the way, is going soon to Europe, for a protracted stay. From there he will continue to edit the *University Bookman.* He will, moreover, give American educationists a six month reprieve, and direct his attention to the state of European culture. President John Hannah of Michigan State will undoubtedly have his happiest six months in five years. . . . **James Burnham** summarizes the contention of a scholarly acquaintance that Western understanding of the Communist enterprise is blurred by the difference in the uses to which West and East put words.

➔ **Forrest Davis,** reviewing the remarkable book on China with which the remarkable Suzanne Labin, one of France's clearest, firmest and ablest anti-Communists, has followed her earlier work on Soviet Communism, notes a vacuum in Mr. Kennedy's Inaugural. . . . **Peter Melik,** a free lance writer busily at work on a novel, finds that a translation said by experts to be sloppy does not interfere with his enjoyment of the first English volume of some of Turgenev's letters. . . . **Garry Wills,** completing the text of his doctoral dissertation as he writes daily for the citizens of Richmond, returns to the brilliant subject of his scholarship. . . . **Antoni E. Gollan,** who last year spent in NR's office several transition months between Antioch College and the U. of Miami, reports on an internationally decorated movie that proves that Sex is the shortest road to a SANE Nuclear Policy. ➔

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The WEEK

● Citizen Eisenhower, at ease in Palm Springs, said he didn't have a plan beyond the next golf shot. It's hard to break old habits.

● Britain's foreign minister, the Earl of Home, like Adlai Stevenson, though not for the same reasons, has just publicly declared that Communist China's admission to the UN (why anyone would *want* to join the UN these days beats us) is inevitable. Mr. Stevenson thinks it inevitable, and wants it, because he is at bottom an appeaser. Lord Home, paradoxically, included his prediction, with a correlated critique of U.S. conduct in the matter, in a foreign policy speech that was on the whole tough for a British context; and a few days later, his government motivated a rise in the arms budget by the "growing threat from Communist China." Actually, Lord Home was merely repeating what has for many centuries been British peacetime policy on diplomatic recognition: to exclude altogether issues of approval, morality, and so on, and extend recognition automatically to the regime, in any country, that holds de facto power. As a general rule, this seems to us correct, and more intelligent than the American "moral" conditioning that began with Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg in the twenties. But, unfortunately, the British fail to recognize, a) that this is not "peacetime" in the traditional sense of past generations; and b) the *specific* consequences of universal diplomatic recognition of this particular regime in this particular period would be in major degree injurious to the interests of all the free world, Britain very much included.

● Things are beginning to look rough in Cuba, and Fidel Castro seems to be on the taking as well as the dishing-out end, lately. If an alternative leader, around whom the mass of Cubans could rally, began moving up front, the last act of the Castrovian drama might come quickly.

● Kremlin agents expect no difficulty in controlling the sessions of the "Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace" that opens in Mexico City March 5. In the pages of *Siempre,* the Mexican weekly that serves up the Communist line in *Life* format, advance ballyhoo for the Conference has competed with pro-Castro agitation for top space rating. A sample topic to be discussed: "Aggression against Cuba." A sample objective: "Liberation of colonial territories and the disappearance of different forms of colonial dependence in America!" A sample attendee: veteran Kremlin agent, Mexican labor leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

● Mr. Newton Minow, a former law partner of Adlai Stevenson and new chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, said in confirmation hearings before the Senate Commerce Committee that the FCC "must never engage in censorship." He also said that television programs should be improved; that there should be "more wide open spaces between the Westerns"; that there should be "more public affairs instead of private eyes"; that the television rating system may not be accurate; that the rating system "is a proper area of concern for the FCC," and that it is the FCC's duty to find television licensees who will operate "responsibly and in the public interest" to replace those who, in the FCC's estimation, do not. And don't anybody who would call *these* proposals "censorship" apply to Mr. Minow for a license.

● Like master, like man. Fidel Castro, who has announced that he is about to nationalize Havana's Colon Cemetery, will soon be able to boast with Khrushchev: "We'll bury you!"

● Internecine warfare among New York City Democrats becomes more intense. After consultation with diagnostician Herbert Lehman, Mayor Wagner decided the New York County Democratic Organization is ailing. The cure? Excision of Carmine G. De Sapio, Tammany Hall leader. Mr. De Sapio challenged Messrs. Wagner and Lehman to a TV debate. They declined, but De Sapio went on solo, and suggested that he is being made whipping boy to cover Mayor Wagner's "poor performance in office." Mr. De Sapio also implied that the city investigation commissioner coerced two councilmen into switching their votes for borough president from De Sapio's man to Wagner's. The Mayor called the charge a smear. Mr. De Sapio said that during a 1958 fight over the nomination of District Attorney Frank Hogan for Senator, Averell Harriman shook his fist. Mr. Wagner said it was only a finger. As the battle rages, the rift between the Mayor and the party leader becomes wider. But what of the Republican enemy? Following instructions from command post at Albany, it is putting out feelers to the Liberal Party, that often makes the swing, and happily bringing its forces to bear on the widening breach.

● A generation conditioned to assume that only government can cope with such problems as mass illiteracy will find it difficult to believe that there

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exist private projects like the Laubach Literacy Fund, a non-profit organization which has taught illiterates throughout the world to read and write. Dr. Frank C. Laubach, its executive director, has conducted literacy programs in over 100 countries, adapting his simple phonetic teaching methods to more than 270 languages. His method of using advanced students to instruct beginners has made it possible to teach more than 100 million people to read without the need for a large number of trained professional teachers. Through lessons broadcast over a local TV educational channel, the Laubach Fund has recently taught some 57,000 illiterate adults in the Memphis, Tenn., area to read and write.

● *Kommunist,* the Moscow journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, notes with alarm that some young Russians are being converted to evangelical Protestantism, whose ideological hostility to Communism's world outlook sometimes leads to "political lack of loyalty." Singled out for attack are the All-Union Baptist Evangelical Church, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentecostals. The Communist Youth League has been ordered to be more diligent in keeping students away from such dangerous company, and to give its members more of that Old Time Atheism.

● The word around Harvard is that Stanley S. Surrey, Professor of Taxation, will soon be packing his bags to join the rest of Harvard's faculty in Washington. Surrey is expected to push for several "adjustments" in the tax law, among them a modification of capital gains tax and elimination of the 4 per cent dividend credit. The dividend credit was incorporated into the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 because of the widespread opposition to dividends being taxed twice—first as corporation profits, and again in investor's profits. With the dividend credit, the first $50 of an investor's profits from dividends is excluded from taxation. Of the remaining profits, the investor applies 4 per cent of the total amount against taxes due on it. (Thus, of $150 profit from dividends, $50 would be tax-free; for the remaining $100, $4.00 would apply against the taxes on that $100.) The effect of the dividend credit, therefore, is to stimulate investment by reducing the effects of double taxation.

● The American Medical Association has published a study, *The Cost of Medical Care,* which compares today's medical expenses with those of 20 years ago. The increase of all medical costs during that period, it shows, has been 108 per cent; the rise in physicians' fees, 90 per cent. This compares, however, with increases in costs during the same period of 297 per cent for domestic servants; 218 per cent for men's haircuts; 169 per cent for shoes; 151 per cent for food; 139 per cent for public transportation; 130 per cent for movies; and 106 per cent for clothing. The big rise in medical costs is for hospital expenses —a jump in 20 years from 17 cents to 26 cents of each dollar spent for medical care. Today, of course, most of the population covers hospital bills by voluntary Blue Cross or private insurance plans.

● Federal Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver is setting a good example to his fellow countrymen by moving into an urban renewal project in southwest Washington. No conflict of interest here. Weaver a) will pay a low controlled rent, and b) is thus enabled to lease the uncontrolled Washington house he owns to an affluent New Frontiersman. Or are we being negative again?

● The Freedom Academy bill has been again introduced in the Senate, with Senators Karl E. Mundt (R., S.D.), Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), Clifford Case (R., N.J.), Thomas Dodd (D., Conn.) and George Smathers (D., Fla.) as its sponsors. It proposes to 1) create an agency in the government to direct non-military action in the war against Communism; and 2) establish a Freedom Academy, where courses in non-military warfare would be offered to a wide range of individuals, including government personnel, teachers, trade unionists, businessmen, clergymen and others. Last year it passed the Senate, but doubts in the mind of Representative Francis E. Walter and then adjournment prevented the House from taking action. Because non-governmental sponsorship of these activities has proved impossible to obtain, anti-Communists are hoping that favorable congressional action at this session will finally make the much-needed Freedom Academy a practical reality.

● On March 3, a distinguished phalanx of conservatives will be in New York to receive the first annual awards of Young Americans for Freedom: Rep. Francis E. Walter, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; Lewis L. Strauss, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; George E. Sokolsky, nationally-syndicated columnist; Eugene C. Pulliam, publisher of the Pulliam Newspapers; Herbert V. Kohler, president of the Kohler Company; Russell Kirk, author and educator; C. K. Yeh, Ambassador of the Republic of China to the U.S.; Taylor Caldwell, best-selling novelist; William F. Buckley Jr., editor of NATIONAL REVIEW; and James Abstine, State Chairman of the Indiana College Young Republicans. The ceremonies will conclude with a major address by Senator Barry Goldwater. Place: Manhattan Center, 311 West 34th St. Time: 8:00 P.M., March 3.

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● *New York Times,* February 15, 1961: "The National Labor Relations Board in a Valentine's Day ruling has held unanimously that a truck driver had been properly dismissed for stealing a kiss. . . . The Board agreed, however, that the trucking concern had violated the law by querying employees on union activities."

All the King's Horses . . .

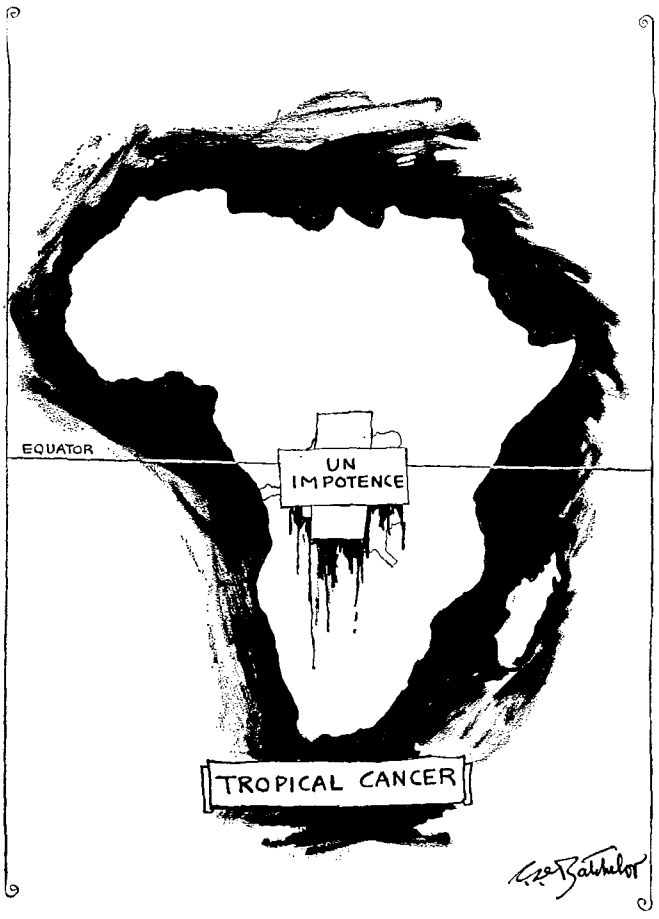
1. Death of a Villain

What is surprising is not that Patrice Lumumba was killed, but that he stayed alive so long, once he had been taken captive by his opponents. If the roles had been reversed, we may be sure that Moise Tshombe's or Joseph Mobutu's breath would have been cut off a good deal quicker. But Lumumba was spared, week after week, as his colleagues, Antoine Gizenga, Anicet Kashamura and Jean Manzikala carved thousands of villagers into bite-size morsels. What did anyone—Adlai Stevenson, say—expect for Patrice Lumumba? That he should be given trial with bewigged judge, sober bailiff, solemn jury, distinguished counsel—the lonely Stevenson partner, perhaps, not tapped for the new Administration—and all due legal trappings, in a land that is not a nation, that has no sovereign power, no constitution, no law or order? What nonsense! What a farce a trial would have been—convincing, moreover, to no one!

May his soul, then, rest in peace: the eternal judgment is not ours to give. Our concern is with the political and strategic consequences of Lumumba's conduct—from which perspective he was our enemy as he was Tshombe's. We cannot mourn his death, any more than we would mourn the death of any other treacherous, deadly foe slain in a continuing, ferocious war.

And so the earth's mighty are "greatly shocked." "Great shock" was Press Secretary Salinger's description of President Kennedy's reaction. "A terrible thing," said Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. "Distressing," "deplorable," "sad testimony," "latest tragedies," were among the limping phrases that fluttered from the wan lips of the New Frontier's new ambassador to the UN. The "savage assassination" was given its Arabic denunciation by Gamal Abdel Nasser. For Great Britain, Sir Patrick Dean was "profoundly shocked," while Nehru echoed the "great shock" of Mr. Kennedy. To the Soviet Union's Zorin, the "crime" was "grievous," "vile" and "shameful"; and Mr. Dag Hammarskjold summed it up for the conscience of the world as "tragic."

As comment on these dreary hypocrisies, let the



words of Godefroid Munongo, Katanga's Interior Minister, suffice:

"I ask a few questions: Did the UN worry about the killing of King Faisal of Iraq? What has the UN done to protect tens of thousands of Balubas in Kasai who were exterminated by the Lumumbists? Has the UN worried about millions of Russians exterminated in Russia?

"Why didn't the UN protect General Maleter and Premier Imre Nagy in Hungary?

"Is it not true that the Allies in the war allowed their former friend, General Mihailovich, to be executed by Tito?

"There is no end of questions like these."

2. Survival of the Problem

For the struggle in the Congo and Africa, Patrice Lumumba's death is an episode of no lasting importance.

In relation to the Congo, the Kremlin directs its main energies toward the strengthening and expansion of the base of operations which it has established. When it was shoved out of Léopoldville after its first stooge, Lumumba, was withdrawn from circulation, it switched base headquarters to Stanleyville. Lumumba's colleague, the more fully-Communized Antoine Gizenga, was put in charge. A

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military force, supplied with Czech arms and Communist leadership, has been continuously built up in size and quality. A month ago this force opened a campaign of expansion that has placed not only all Oriental Province under its control, but much of Kivu plus parts of northern Katanga and Kasai. Meanwhile—before and after Lumumba's death—in the UN, in the international press, and through the world propaganda network of agents, puppets and fronts, the Soviet polwar apparatus carries out a diversionary and covering campaign of harassment.

In Katanga, the initially pro-Western Moise Tshombe established an anti-Communist base, put in order all but the northern fringe of his province, got his people back to work, came to agreement with Albert Kalonji in southern Kasai, and began to build an army to counter the Lumumba-Communist forces. But Washington has failed to direct its main energies toward the strengthening and expansion of the base of pro-Western operations that Katanga might have become, and still could become. Whether because of fear of colonial taint, or wish to cut out Belgium, or doctrinaire abstractions about the UN and a "united Congo," we first dealt with the villain Lumumba, then shifted half-heartedly to the feeble Kasavubu, squandered energies in futile attempts to engineer all-faction conciliation conferences (Lumumba included), and strove to act in and through a UN that in the Congo was only a name for a dozen squabbling battalions and a thousand helpless bureaucrats.

Inevitably, effect follows from cause. The unreal Kasavubu regime disintegrated under the direct assault of the Moscow-guided forces and the indirect sabotage of the UN; Tshombe was pinched, braked, confined but fortunately not yet tamed; the power of the Communist base grew as the Western power declined.

With Lumumba gone, the political realities of the shattered Congo remain; and not all the dismal platitudes of Adlai Stevenson will put it together again.

Bend, You Twigs

If the House Committee on Un-American Activities had half the staff, a quarter of the funds, and a tenth the publicity of the sundry fronts seeking its liquidation, we could rest easy about the dangers of Communist infiltration. The latest mushroom to swell out from the anti-HUAC fungus calls itself the "Ad Hoc Committee," and is nominally administered by a Cyrus Eaton sort of creep, James Imbrie of Lawrenceville, N.J., Princeton '01, publicly certified by a neighboring clergyman and Ad Hoc signee as "a retired Wall Street banker, a believer in the capitalist system, and a man of deep religious faith."

In the last fortnight the Ad Hocers have been covering vast acreage in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* with an advertisement (paid—and for a page and a half of the *Times,* when we say "paid" we mean paid plenty) in the form of a "Petition to the House of Representatives of the 87th Congress of the United States." The petition calls on our legislators—you guessed it first time—"to eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Standing Committee," because it has "perverted," "imperiled," "discouraged," "harassed" and so on. (We note in passing that Ad Hoc is a bit late on the trigger. The Standing Committees for the two years of the 87th Congress were as usual decided the first week. But American constitutional practice has always been something of a mystery to our anti-HUACs.)

As a new feature, angle or gimmick, the list of signers (three hundred odd, some very odd, as a rough guess) has been carefully combed to exclude open and admitted Communist Party members. At any rate, we suppose it can be contended that every Harry Bridges, W. E. B. DuBois, Guy Emery Shipler, Peter Blume, J. Raymond Walsh *e tutti quanti* is not an open Communist. Another titillating point: not so many, very few in fact, of the ADA's top echelon—the echelon, come to think of it, that is, almost to a man, at the moment, in His Majesty's Service—figure therein. At their present post there might be a certain inconvenience from having one's name bandied about in the wrong public places. Of course, there's Eleanor Roosevelt—but she is kept in back pasture these days.

Otherwise most of the old crowd—and much of it is *quite* old by now, elder classmates, you might say, of Mr. Imbrie's—gathered for the reunion: Dorothy Kenyon, H. H. Wilson, Carey McWilliams, Alfred A. Knopf, Joseph Barnes, Mulford Q. Sibley, Lewis Mumford, Henry Steele Commager, Kirtley F. Mather, Alexander Meiklejohn, Harlow Shapley, Norman Thomas, Linus Pauling (*Ah, Youth! Ah, Brave New World!*)—without looking at the ad, *you* can name them as fast as *we* can read them. Their voices may quaver, but their fingers are as agile as ever at signing documents that serve Communist interests.

Here and there, scattered sparsely to be sure, there's a timid new name or two. A young acquaintance of ours, a hardy soul currently braving the rigors of an Ivy League campus, spotted one of these, somewhat to his surprise: his university's chaplain, as it happened. Being of inquiring mind, our student went over next afternoon to ask his spiritual mentor why and wherefore. It didn't take too long a conversation to establish that the chaplain: knew nothing whatever about the House Committee,

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its history, actions, procedures, members or conduct —though he *did* point to the "Tynan" and "Uphaus" cases as the sort of HUAC activity he couldn't stomach (N. B.: HUAC has been in no way involved with either the Tynan or the Uphaus case—Ed.); knew nothing whatever about the campaign *against* the House Committee; was most anxious that his own name—which had just been displayed in the *Post*—would not be used around campus in connection with the affair.

In the Liberal groves of academe, that's what's known as "responsible leadership for our country's aspiring youth."

Keep Looking, Diogenes

As the seven electric company officials begin their executive training course in the Morris County Jail, we pause to consider the pious chorus that judges them.

The President of the United States, flaming symbol of electoral honesty, sets the pitch: "I think it would be very beneficial if business groups today would consider what they could do to protect themselves from charges of conflicts of interest of the kind that we have recently seen, and also of the effort made by these large electrical companies to defraud the Government."

The mayor of New York City, renowned for its spotless record of clean politics and efficient administration, charges like a Galahad to battle: "The city will not stand idly by and be mulcted."

James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, famous for its solicitous regard for the desires of its members and the gentility of its picket lines, says he finds it "hard to believe" that the loftiest officials of the electrical industry did not know about the collusive practices that brought them their enormous contracts at the right prices and that incidentally provided steady employment for the union members.

Federal Judge James C. Ganey, administering the law that rests upon the supreme jurisdiction of a court of eminent jurists appointed with sole regard to their rich legal talents and experience, opines that "one would be naive indeed" to believe that the highest officials in the electrical industry were unaware of the crimes being committed, and strikes a blow against materialism in describing the pitiable "organization or company man, the conformist, who goes along with his superiors and finds balm for his conscience in additional comforts and the security of his place in the corporate set-up." It is well known that federal judges who disagree with decisions of the Supreme Court always resign from the bench in a spirit of selfless protest.

General Electric, which neither sees, speaks nor hears monopoly evil, intones that "it has been, and will continue to be, the policy of the company to comply strictly with these laws, with no exception, compromise, or qualification."

The Congress of the United States, ever alert to apply the laws equally to one and all, without fear or favor, has taken immediate steps to extend the anti-trust law to labor unions, to prohibit the monopolistic closed shop, and to prohibit industry-stifling sympathy walkouts.

James Hoffa and Harry Bridges, in a spirit of noble sacrifice, have voluntarily withdrawn their plan to unite all the transportation unions into a national monopoly.

And for the next thirty days, back there in the great stone house in Morris County, will sit seven shattered figurines, forever marked by the event that sets them off from their sanctimonious fellow citizens in government, business, the courts, labor, and the professions: they got caught.

Harvard's Loss Is . . .

In the convincing letter to the *New York Times*, Professor Gottfried Haberler takes issue with the message to Congress in which President Kennedy proposed various measures to revive the ailing dollar. It is not true, Professor Haberler points out, that "a revival of the domestic economy" will of itself help to wipe out the $3.5 billion annual deficit in our international balance of payments. A prosperous national economy, though desirable, is neither a necessary nor a sufficient means to stop the gold leak.

The real cure must include fiscal discipline. Sweden since the war has been rich, prosperous, fully employed, but has had continuing, serious trouble with its balance of payments. Portugal is one of Europe's poorest countries, but through stern fiscal self-discipline has had a sound balance for the past thirty years.

The argument in the Presidential message that an increase in minimum wages will increase productivity and hold down unit costs "should make any economist blush." If a wage rise outstrips gains in productivity, prices will increase commensurately, with a negative effect on exports. This will more than wipe out any of the minor gains that might come from such proposals as the promotion of tourism in this country and the four-hundred-dollar reduction in the customs allowance for returning American tourists. The protectionist feature of the latter measure may in any case have the boomerang effect of lowering our sales abroad more than the problematic amount that it might reduce the foreign purchases of our citizens. On the other hand, if wages rise somewhat less rapid-

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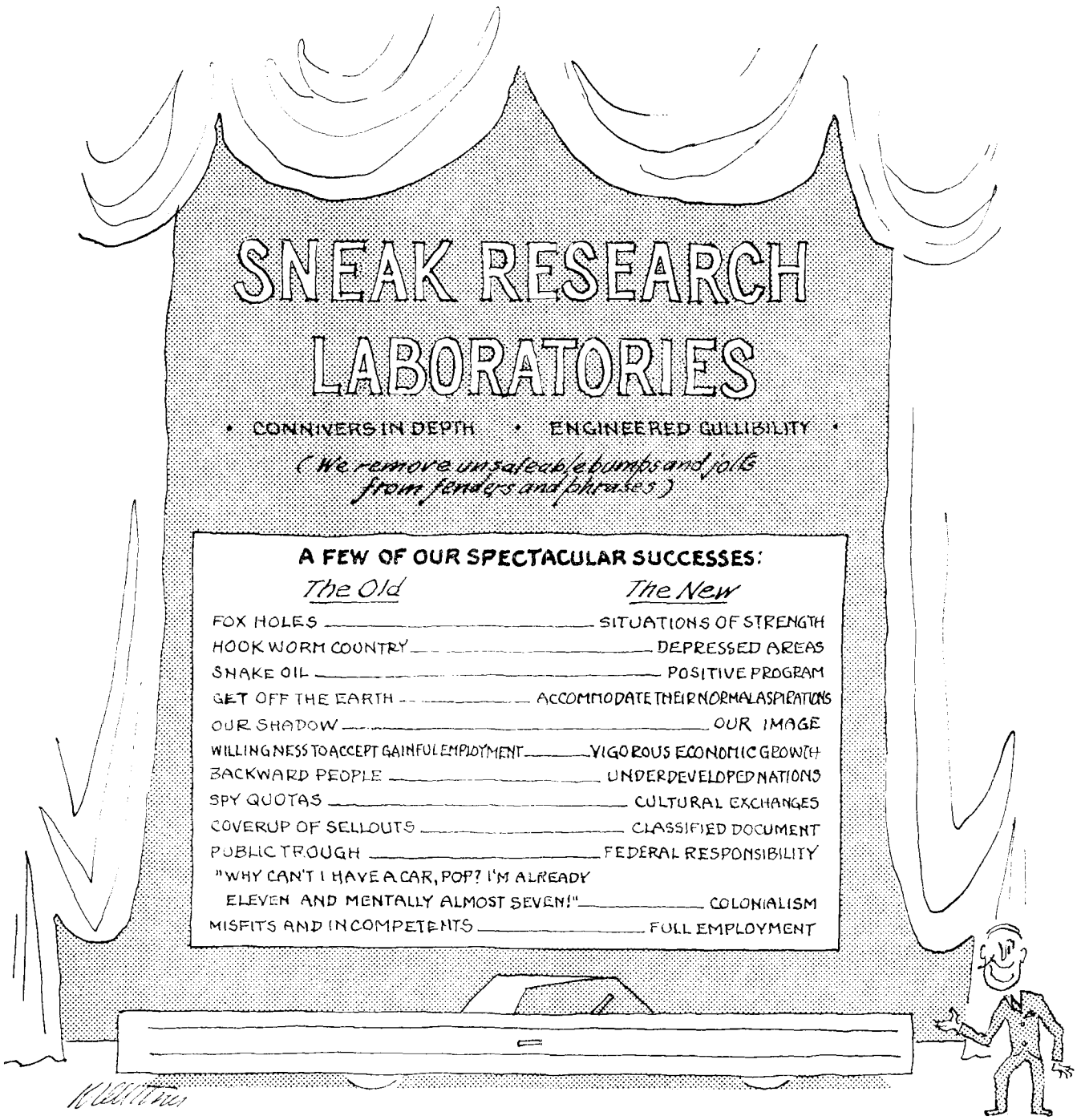
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COVERUP OF SELLOUTS — CLASSIFIED DOCUMENT
PUBLIC TROUGH — FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY
"WHY CAN'T I HAVE A CAR, POP? I'M ALREADY ELEVEN AND MENTALLY ALMOST SEVEN!" — COLONIALISM
MISFITS AND INCOMPETENTS — FULL EMPLOYMENT

"We've had the Streamlined Look, the Two-Tone Look, the New Look, the Wide Look, the Low Look, the Forward Look, and now the Clean Look. Next year, we're going to have something radically new: the Automobile Look!"

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For the Record

A mammoth public relations campaign under way to replace Nelson Rockefeller with Sen. Clifford Case as Liberal leader of GOP in '64. It's rumored Sen. Javits has defected to Case. . . . Much hullaballoo over first issue of Advance, the Republican magazine edited and published by students at (of all places) Harvard. Tip-off on its ideological complexion and political purpose: reliable reports have it that David Rockefeller is one of its financial backers ($500 down). . . . Not true, says U.S. Attorney Morton Robson to reports that he has recommended the Justice Department drop its income tax evasion case against Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

Moise Tshombe, Katanga's tough President, reportedly trying to enlist ex-U.S. servicemen in his army. Proposed pay, according to Kenya reports: $1,000 per month for officers, $550 for NCO's. . . . In Cuba, all schools were ordered last week to devote time in social studies class to honoring the late Patrice Lumumba. . . . An ex-Castro official has told U.S. authorities that 2,000 Cuban espionage agents are at work in the U.S. and that they report directly to a Soviet-controlled agency in Havana. . . . Another, and, on the face of it, logical version of why CBS cancelled, and later rescheduled, "The Spy Next Door." It was blackmail, in the form of a Moscow threat to exclude CBS from USSR if the show was run. CBS first knuckled under, later reversed itself after strong pressure from sponsors plus public outcry.

Dewitt Copp and Marshall Peck, authors of Betrayal at the UN: The Story of Povl Bang-Jensen, invited to present their views to gathering of UN correspondents. Invitation later withdrawn because Tass correspondents considered subject "too controversial." . . . Just out, John Dos Passos' latest novel, Mid-century, (Houghton-Mifflin), a chapter of which first appeared in NR ["The Analyst," Dec. 17, 1960].

Landmark: President Betancourt has completed his second year in office, the first time a popularly-elected president has lasted that long in Venezuela.

ly than productivity, the resulting lower price levels will encourage exports, and the deficit will gradually disappear.

Professor Haberler did not name the economists who he felt should blush. As it happens, his own field is economics, which he teaches—still teaches, that is—at Harvard, where he is being kept pretty busy this term, what with the vacant chairs awaiting, like Banquo's, their departed ghosts. Well, as the old phrase goes: what's Harvard's loss is Harvard's gain.

Let's Travel, Fellows

Twelve Hollywood writers and actors, three of whom were jailed in 1950 for refusal to tell a congressional committee whether they were Communists, and all of whom allege that they have been on the Hollywood blacklist since 1947, have brought legal action against all the major movie studios and two major movie industry associations. Their suit, filed under the anti-trust law, charges the industry with restraint of trade and asks $7.5 million in damages to compensate for loss of income. This sum works out to about $50,000 a year for each of the writers and actors who have pitted their talents against the capitalist system.

In order to win their case, these twelve will have to prove that they are completely unemployable anywhere east of Hollywood's Vine Street—a conclusion that we are not prepared to deny. They will have to prove that our society owes to its enemies a stipend eight times the size of the average family income. They may even have to prove there's a public demand for their product. Surely they will have to prove that a libertarian society has no implicit right to protect itself against those whom it judges to be subversive.

We look forward to a resoundingly triumphant, spectacular, tremendous, deeply stirring, sensitively-acted courtroom trial, with a cast of stars and a nakedly-honest plot revealing the secret sin in the depths of man's soul, with widescreen photography, period costumes, script by Dalton Trumbo, and background music sung by Pete Seeger. In color, of course. Things aren't just black and white.

Open House Policy

Robert C. Weaver, newly appointed administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, said in 1948, "The ultimate necessity to wipe out residential segregation in a democracy is equally valid in all parts of it." He reaffirmed this opinion before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency a couple of weeks ago. But he acknowledged the present validity of little else in his past. He repudiated his 1947 state-

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ment: "To the Soviet citizen, it seems much more logical and fair to liquidate an enemy of the state than to deny a black man equal rights because of the color of his skin."

Asked about his connection with the National Negro Congress in 1937, 1938, and 1940—an organization later identified as subversive and Communist—Dr. Weaver explained that he didn't know its nature at the time. Asked about his connection with the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1939)—an organization later identified as subversive—Dr. Weaver explained that he didn't know its nature at the time. Asked about his connection with the Communist-oriented Washington Cooperative Book Shop (1941), Dr. Weaver explained he didn't know its nature at the time. Asked about his connection with the testimonial dinner given for the Communist, Ferdinand Smith, in 1944, Dr. Weaver couldn't remember anything. Asked about his connection with the Council on African Affairs (1945)—later identified as a subversive organization—Dr. Weaver said he didn't know its nature at the time.

Asked about the promotion given to his book, *The Negro Ghetto* (1948), by a Communist Party bookstore in New York, the Workers Book Shop, Dr. Weaver first claimed he didn't know the store was Communist, then begged the question, then said, "I have always tried to keep myself from being associated with Communism." The Senate Committee endorsed his nomination. Coexistence, like charity, starts at home.

Valentine for IBM

Commenting, from the evidence of a newspaper report, on a speech delivered by Mr. Arthur K. Watson at Stanford University, NATIONAL REVIEW said (December 17, 1960) that he had advocated recognition of and trade with Communist China, liquidation of our overseas bases, and more of the same.

Mr. Watson, justifiably objecting, sent on the full text. This makes clear that he conditioned such Western concessions on Communist agreement to place all Vietnam and Korea under the UN, withdraw from Tibet, halt subversion in India and Southeast Asia, withdraw military forces from all satellite nations, and more of the same.

These provisos—though it would take one of the larger machines of the company founded by Mr. Watson's father to add the odds against their acceptance by the enemy—absolve Mr. Watson of the sin of appeasement. The trouble with such programs is that everyone seems to find it so simple to remember the concessions, but so easy to forget the provisos.

National Trends

Quo Vadis, Barry?

WILLMOORE KENDALL

In a few short years, Senator Barry Goldwater has vaulted out of nowhere to a position of great eminence in American politics. His has been an admirable performance any way you look at it—but especially the way *we* look at it. For conservatives who are nothing usually *stay* nothing in the American political system. Either that, or they get integrated, willy-nilly, *into* the system.

Barry Goldwater will never be integrated—he has already gone too far for that. He will not (that is the inescapable inference from his royal display of conviction and courage in the past) even try to be. What could happen, though, is that the keen insights into the ills of our society that emerge from *The Conscience of a Conservative* might become blurred—in the act of trying to cure those ills. Considerations of *strategy,* that is, could compromise Goldwater's goals. That is the danger that leaps to mind on reading the Senator's recent *Statement of Proposed Republican Principles, Programs and Objectives,* to which he has given the popular title, *The Forgotten American.*

The *Statement* is, on its face, an act of strategy. Where the *Conscience* moves from *a priori* premises concerning the nature of man, the good life, the inherent dangers of power, and so on, to a series of concrete conclusions as to how a society reflecting those premises should be organized, the *Statement* adopts what might be called an "empirical" approach.

If we take a look at the world around us, says the *Statement,* we shall find that American society is "over-organized." *I.e.,* it affords too few opportunities for the exercise of individual freedom, self-reliance and creativeness. In other regards, however, we shall find that American society is not organized enough, or alternatively, that it is unfairly organized. For example: some people are represented by efficient "pressure groups," others are not. And, in either case, our system produces "forgotten Americans." This form of argument has the practical advantage of luring the heretofore uncommitted reader ("forgotten?"—that's me!)

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into support of conservative programs without, at the same time, requiring him to buy the conservative philosophy.

Must the *Statement* and the *Conscience* end us up in different places when the time comes for concrete proposals? Not necessarily, we tell ourselves—until we are suddenly brought up short. In calling for corrective actions "to protect individual freedom, action and responsibility," the *Statement* asserts, toward the end of its introduction, we "do not . . . refer to those measures which have been adopted in the past quarter of a century intended to protect our people against the hazards, risks and vicissitudes of economic life." We are asked, in other words, to learn to live not only with those parts of the New Deal and its Modern Republican accretions that the conservative consensus has found acceptable heretofore, but, apparently, with *all* of it. So warned, we are moved along to concrete issues.

Some Discrepancies

Inflation. Individual Americans have put away $307 billion for a rainy day, excluding social security. "The protection of these private savings, insurance and pension funds," the *Statement* says, "presently constitutes the most important domestic problem facing our federal government." The Democrats are likely to demand "further government borrowing" that will cause inflation to "run rampant"—a prospect we Republicans promise "to resist with all [our] strength."

Labor. This is Senator Goldwater's main field of interest and a large portion of the *Statement* is devoted to it. After citing Labor's "special privileges" in our society and some of the unions' more flagrant abuses, the *Statement* calls for federal legislation to accomplish the following: to bar union "exclusionary policies" (*i.e.*, excluding from union membership people who want to join); to prevent the use of union dues for political purposes; to prevent violence and mass-picketing; to require majority support for strike decisions; to regulate collective bargaining involving government employees. Unexceptionable purposes, all. But where is "right-to-work"? And what has come of the *Conscience's* demand for an end to industrywide bargaining? On the *Conscience's* showing, these things (along with union political spending) are primarily responsible for "the illness that besets the labor movement." The kind of evils the *Statement* attacks, the *Conscience* says, relate to the ones the *Statement* omits as "symptoms" relate to "causes."

Social Welfare. Private insurance and savings plans must be encouraged by, *inter alia,* "new and increased tax deductions." Very well, but what of government welfarism? *Further* federal programs must be opposed, the *Statement* says—*if* they involve increased taxes or deficit spending, *or if* they are not confined to demonstrably needy localities, *or if* they fail to require the states to match federal funds at a prescribed percentage. (This last condition makes especially strange reading, over against the *Conscience's* denunciation of matching funds as a not-very-subtle attack on states' rights—"a mixture," it was called, of blackmail and bribery.") Where the above "ifs" are met, the *Statement* necessarily implies, we shall *not* oppose welfarism. More: if a program is "absolutely essential" and "universally demanded," we shall not oppose it even if the ifs are *not* met—though, the *Statement* hastily adds, we should do part of the financing by cutting back other federal expenditures (on what, it doesn't say). Such proposals are a far cry, let us agree, from the welfarist views of Jacob Javits or even Richard Nixon; but they are also a far cry from those of the *Conscience,* where federal welfarism is opposed *per se* as incompatible with a healthy and free society.

Education. The *Statement* would give a "substantial" income-tax deduction to a family "for each child attending college." A higher education for American youth, the *Statement* assures us, is "increasingly essential" and, for many, "extremely difficult" to finance. Tax relief is clearly preferable as a remedy to federal grants, which should be avoided "wherever possible." The *Statement* does not deal with such objections as a) that college education does *not* belong, along with foodstuff, in the "essential" category—and that it is not desirable for *all* youth, b) that evidence is still lacking that there are qualified students who have failed to get to college for financial reasons, and c) that further federal intervention in education, of any kind, is a further concession to principle that we know to be fraught with very great danger.

Electoral College Reform. The *Statement* opposes the present system of permitting the winner of a state's popular vote to walk off with its entire electoral vote. The *Conscience* does not deal with this topic, but there are some of us (several of my benighted colleagues, I am sad to say, not included) who deem the right of the states to cast their electoral votes as they see fit a vital bulwark of our federal system.

Who Does the Remembering?

A word is in order, finally, about that "forgotten American" who is the unfortunate victim of the evils the *Statement* is designed to redress. The phrase itself should probably be pardoned as a rhetorical gimmick, but even then it takes some thinking about. For Senator Goldwater surely cannot push the image of the "forgotten American" very far without inviting the question, Who, or What, is obliged to "remember" him? The association with FDR's answer does not easily down—especially since the conservative (and here Goldwater remains true to his faith) has no across-the-board substitute. Sometimes the *Statement* calls upon private institutions or local government to do the "remembering"; sometimes, the federal government is to "remember" by *inaction, e.g.,* by refusing to increase the tax burden; sometimes, notably in the labor field, the federal government is to "remember" by taking affirmative action.

All of this is splendid as long as Senator Goldwater is on hand to write down the answers. The danger here is that, standing alone, the notion implicitly invites an answer dictated by expedience—*i.e.,* Who, or What, will remember *best*? That is to read out of the discussion such other tests as, Is the proposed solution constitutional? Does it result in an unwise concentration of power? Is it destructive of individual free-

(Continued on p. 127)

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Democracy: Weather Report

Where is American democracy headed? A distinguished political scientist, student of the short history of democratic rule, has a pretty good idea . . .

FRANCIS G. WILSON

1. As the practice of "free elections," democracy has only a short history, mainly since 1800 under the influence of the movement toward a broader suffrage and the election of a larger number of public officials. Its success is limited mainly to Western Europe, the United States and the British Dominions. However, the tradition of two-party elections is almost exclusively Anglo-American. A new era for democratic elections has obviously dawned with the rise of vast pressure groups and the so-called "mass media," where, as in television, personality instead of principle surges to the foreground and consciousness of party and party-principle disappears.

2. Democracy has been a common symbol from Herodotus to the present, but as a system of government it has been widespread neither in history nor in geographic areas. Very often it has not been a durable form (how many democracies have disappeared since the end of World War I?). In the ancient world pure democracy, as pictured by Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides, Polybius, Cicero and others was a prelude to tyranny. Thucydides' description of class war, *stasis*, in Corcyra is the classic example of popular derailment.

3. Since democracy is neither the most widespread of political forms, nor the most durable or popular of political techniques or institutions, will America be drawn into the historical sweep, or will we be able with our Western European allies to reform the world of tyranny? Monarchy has been the most popular and the most stable of political forms, and revolution has been the most popular and most widely used device for the transfer of power. Take as witness in recent times throughout most of the world the fascist, Communist, *caudillo* and military movements which have rejected or modified elections, denounced competing political parties and responsible parliaments based on territorial elections. They have instituted parliaments that are markedly unobtrusive and ineffective, and they have suspended the juridical protection of the individual. The parliament may become a fawning, frightened institution like the Roman Senate under the later Emperors, or like the American Congress during the Hundred Days.

The Stakes of Politics

4. If the state does little, other than keep order, protect property, and perform a regulative and ethical function in the market, then elections of any kind, popular or oligarchical, will work, *i.e.*, the votes will be counted properly. Form in politics then exists by tradition, and democracy, monarchy, or aristocracy can attain the current demands for social justice. The stakes in politics are low; there is little incentive to the class struggle; business success is more important than political power; and political appeal in elections is more humanistic than technical.

5. On the contrary, when the state has become omnicompetent, omnivorous of independent social forces, when it engages endlessly in war-like activity, in an increasingly complicated regulation of trivial economic behavior, and when it engages in vast propaganda and publishing enterprises—the stakes of politics and the perquisites of office are great indeed. Finally, they tend to become too high to let power be won and lost in the accidents of free elections and secret ballots. Gradually many things short of military tyranny are done to insure the proper outcome of elections, chiefly through controlling the flow of propaganda and the necessary corruption of voting procedures. Here we have the more pleasant face of the democratic tyranny in a Big Brother society. (Is there not a widespread belief that the 1960 Presidential election was stolen from the Republicans?)

6. So long as society can absorb trained technicians and the intellectuals, the educated and the partially trained, there can be peaceful electoral alternations of power because there are always livable alternatives to the possession of political power and some sort of public employment. The revolutionary class is slow to develop, and the always-emergent aristocratic patterns of life can be separated from the state; in other words, aristocracy can be social and independent, and it can monitor the standards of society. The intellectual (not always an aristocrat by any means) is found in business, in the professions (including the mass media), in the bureaucracy of the big corporations, in university teaching and research that is remote from political commitments, and on the technical staffs of larger pressure groups and voting blocs. Among the great achievements of the United States one must list both the broadening of the middle class (Marx's *petite bourgeoisie*), and the constant absorption of the intellectuals produced by the mysterious processes of higher education.

7. In modern democracy there has been an increasing obviousness in the behavior of self-conscious minorities, pressure groups, bloc voting, and short-term rallies of large numbers of voters for the achievement of selfish aims rather than the common good. Nearly all of these minorities and voting blocs are dominated by an oligarchy of *permanent* and only formally re-elected leaders. Within the bloc system there is no majority rule in any classic or philosophical meaning of the term because individuals are manipulated and pro-

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cured for the leaders. Our democracy is becoming a state run in the interest of bloc-voting masses who can win plebiscites. At the same time the minorities (like Toynbee's internal and external proletariats) deny to other minorities or to less organized citizens the right to act in the same manner. For example, Negroes may vote for Negroes because they are Negroes, but not whites for whites because they are white; labor may act for labor, but business acting for business or professions acting for professions, *i.e.*, doctors and teachers, are considered reactionary, or even monopolistic and fascist.

8. While the election of the President becomes the result of a coalition of minorities and blocs in the more populous states, and the appeals of the campaign become vague and abusive, congressmen are elected on a different system of majority. Often the congressman does not come from a district in which the bloc voters are clearly dominant. Congress represents a majority that rests on the social structure of communities in the congressional districts, as Professor Willmoore Kendall has shown in his article, "Two Majorities." Here there is more fluidity, more individual decision, and clearly less pressure from the permanent leaders of the blocs. In any traditional sense of democracy as the "free election," it is up to Congress to preserve democracy; that is, to resist the domination of the blocs, or the coalition of minorities and their alliances with the executive and the bureaucracy.

9. The vast number of intellectuals we are producing in America is a consequence of the expansion of higher education. One of the outlets for them is to become employees in the civil service of the blocs and minorities that are concerned with winning elections. Intellectuals in such situations have only one political interest: to win power and to retain it. Though in the past our intellectuals have been generally uncommitted politically, there is a pronounced tendency today for them to be associated with ideological movements, *e.g.*, with Liberal causes, and thereby to promote the irreconcilability of ideological parties.

10. The Classical World does not offer us an extended description of the democratic transition to tyranny. But in general a leader appears; he increases his power; the welfare of the people depends on his safety; he is given guards to prevent injury to him; and he is, let us say, endowed with charisma. Prophecy is cheap, but let us try: in the middle of President Kennedy's second term there will be a movement to repeal the Amendment, the 22nd, that limits the President's time in office. Kennedy may well have acquired charisma; the people will be lost without him; he will be elected for a third term, and then for life, in fact. . . . He will be, as G. K. Chesterton described, a medieval monarch, the last remaining in the world. All this will happen provided the blocs can maintain some unity among themselves; the compromise must not fail when an election victory is needed.

Control of Congress

11. But if the movement to repeal the 22nd Amendment should fail, the blocs will move toward a more positive control of Congress. If they succeed, the Congress will become submissive to the executive, and the executive will direct the bureaucracy with increasing encroachment on a civil service system which has been preserving the tenure of some who are against "progress."

12. President Kennedy, however, may not be able to hold the five million Catholics who shifted from Eisenhower to him in 1960. Kennedy is essentially anti-clerical, very much as Latin chiefs of state have often been. He has opposed federal aid to parochial schools, which many Catholics would say is necessary for the equal treatment of Catholic children; he has opposed an ambassador to the Vatican; he has been discourteous to the Bishops in Puerto Rico; and he has intimated that any cleric who seeks to tell him anything about natural law or the Catholic conscience will be quickly and firmly shown the door. If he does not hold the Catholic swing, a notable crevasse in the union of bloc and minorities that elected him will appear. If the Republicans nominate a Catholic in 1964 could Kennedy lose his charisma? Is it possible to divide the blocs and minorities between the Democrats and the Republicans?

Necessary Efforts

13. American democracy can be strengthened by the following:

a. An heroic effort to preserve free elections and to retard the encroachment of corruption on the purity and the freedom of ballot must be made. Such an effort is particularly important in areas where there are large blocs of voters who have not "earned" the right to vote by their competence, their education, their maturity, their interest and information in politics, or by their willingness to be independent of the "persuasion" which blankets them.

b. A vigorous legislative effort must be mounted to retard or check the power of bloc voting. Must a member of a labor union vote always as his union officers tell him? Even though they were told that Kennedy had signed on the dotted line? If the Presidency is to be the permanent prize of directed bloc voting, then the only solution may be a reform that would bring the executive under the control of Congress, that is, an American version of parliamentary government.

c. In the end there must be a less lopsided "formation" of the intellectuals. Somehow the left-wing Liberal scientists and social scientists must be balanced by conservative intellectuals. Such a change means a reshaping of the universities where the intellectuals are "formed," and it means as well a greater fluidity in the civil service, that is, a greater responsibility to Congress.

d. The majorities reflected in the election of congressmen outside of the big-city machines and their controlled voting must be preserved. The congressman must be more assertive of the validity of the majority he represents, for he represents society, the social, against the manipulative and the political.

e. Congress must be willing to restrict the senseless growth of national government function. It must control, as far as possible, the waste and extravagance of government and hold in check the growth of the number on the public payroll. One of its functions must be to remind the voters that we live in a federal system of government; one does not need to blush in a defense of the functions of state government.

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No Language but a Cry

In Britain today, the protest is what counts. Never mind what you're protesting against, or why, so long as you accentuate the negative.

COLM BROGAN

I was much gratified to learn recently that a group of Oxford undergraduates have set up in the business of promoting protests. The nature and the method of the protest are matters of indifference. It may be a protest by public meeting, by placard picketing or by pilgrimage, like the Aldermaston March. It may be a protest against the non-recognition of Red China by the UN, against the proposal to drive a road through Christ Church Meadow, against the outfall of sewage on holiday beaches, against the building of nuclear reactors on beauty spots, against capital punishment, against bloody sports, against apartheid, against poverty in India, against prosperity in Britain. Against everything or anything. Against the weather. It is like a bottle party. All are welcome.

There is a great deal of unfocused indignation among the leftish intellectuals. They are angered by the gross materialism they see around them, and, at the same time, they are angered by a marked increase in religious observance in the ancient universities.

For lack of a concrete object of attack a great deal of high-spirited indignation has been running to waste. That is why John Kenneth Galbraith has come as a blessing most thankfully received. His phrase "The Affluent Society" and his neat dichotomy between private opulence and public squalor provide excellent substitutes for anything resembling serious thought. In fact, some of the most striking British contrasts are the other way round. The privately owned schools are mostly very modest in their standards of building and equipment, while the new State schools are glittering palaces of steel and glass. (Some of them have so much window space that it is impossible to get any work done on a really hot day.) The heavily subsidized housing estates built by local authority are completely modern and lavishly equipped, but in every big town there are square miles of peeling and dreary terraces which have fallen into decay because of rent restriction.

Galbraithian Disapproval

The Socialist intellectuals of Britain are hardly notable for tact. They do not conceal their contempt for the working-class determination to acquire fridges, spin-dryers and cars. This contempt comes ungraciously from expensively-educated middle-class specimens who have never been short of any material thing in the whole of their lives. It is notable that British trade union leaders have nothing to say about the Affluent Society except that they want more of it.

This feeling is strongly shared by the peoples of countries of primitive development who have never had enough of anything in their lives. It was forcibly expressed at the Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom. Professor Galbraith was enthusiastically acclaimed by many of the British delegation, but the delegates from African and Asian countries refused to share his lofty disapproval of such vanities as domestic hardware and fintail cars. Coming from countries where a man may spend half his life dreaming of owning a bicycle one day, they had nothing against fintail cars, except that they were beyond their reach. But the most disconcerting speech for the British came from a German. British intellectuals are never tired of complaining about the miserly volume of support which the State gives to the arts, and they are specially grieved to see one theater after another closing its doors for lack of a subsidy. Evidently they order these things much better in West Germany. It appears that the Republic has one hundred and sixty theaters run regardless of expense and playing to full houses all the time. The German theater has everything that a lover of the drama could ask, except just one thing. According to the delegate, there is no German drama, absolutely none. The plays which fill the hundred and sixty theaters are either classics or else plays which first saw the footlights in some flea pit in London, Paris or New York. Perhaps the successful pursuit of the good, the beautiful and the true is not quite so simple an operation as the Anti-Affluents imagine.

Some of them, indeed, seem to have very curious ideas of what is good, beautiful or true. Kinglsey Amis is one example. Mr. Amis is a university lecturer who wrote a successful novel about a university lecturer. His hero, Lucky Jim, was accurately described by Somerset Maugham as "scum." He is a sycophantic loafer and the grossest of vulgarians, literally unfit to be a lavatory attendant. The amusing rogue is as old as comedy itself, but Mr. Amis betrayed that he did not regard his hero as a rogue at all. He called him an "anti-chap," implying that this boozing buffoon was striking significant social attitudes. Lucky Jim was railroaded into a university post by public funds. It his attitudes are significant, then they signify that public funds are being wasted on a large scale.

However, Mr. Amis is good-natured. Not so Mr. John Osborne. His play *Look Back in Anger* was grossly overpraised by critics who were ready to welcome anything that deviated from the weary tradition of drawing room, middle-class comedy. But the play, though certainly not genteel, was little more than an alternating whine and snarl, expressed in undisciplined rhetoric. The identification of the hero with the author was inescapable. Like Lucky Jim, the hero rejects civilized and disciplined

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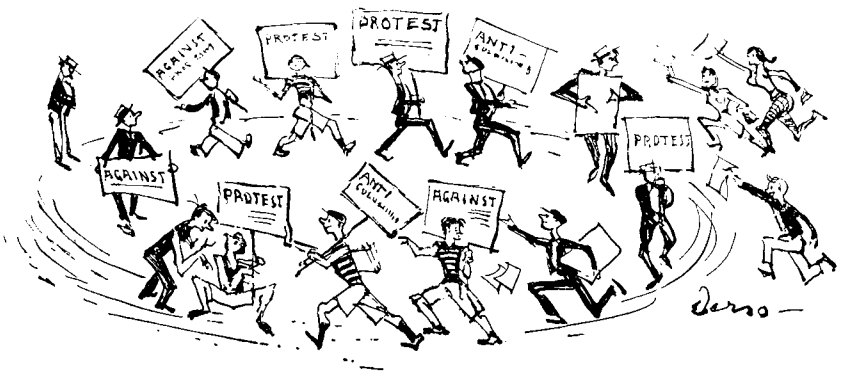
standards of behavior; but Lucky Jim rejects them with an urchin leer, hidden by his hand before his mouth, whereas Jimmy Porter rejects them in the screaming tones of a neurotic banshee.

But Mr. Osborne made a lot of money and secured a lot of publicity, mostly flattering, till he tried his hand at a musical. He meant it to be a shocker, for producing shockers is his stock in trade, and so it was, but not in the way he intended. It was a shocker of schoolboy incompetence, and on the first night there were angry demonstrations, even in the stalls—a thing unprecedented in London. The gallery is allowed to give uninhibited expression to its displeasure but the stalls are expected to suffer in silence. There were also angry shouts on the pavement outside when the author left. Many of the cash customers took the broken-backed production as a personal insult, which indeed it was. The non-cash customers, the critics, fell next day on Mr. Osborne like a pack of ravening wolves. Some of them, perhaps, added extra vitriol to their ink wells because they remembered how greatly they had overpraised Mr. Osborne's earlier works. But Mr. Osborne, the most grossly overrated writer since Stephen Phillips, loftily said, "I never expect good notices," and took himself off to Capri.

The significance of his departure lies in the fact that he was the producer as well as the author of the play. The simple-minded public school and Guards types who are the objects of his nearly hysterical rancor would assume that the producer of a doomed play had no more right to run away than the captain of a sinking ship would have to commandeer a lifeboat for himself, but it seems likely that it never occurred to Mr. Osborne that he had any duty to his caste or to his financial backer (an American, I need hardly say).

Indeed, the reason why he hates the upper-class types he savages is precisely because he hates their virtues, not their vices. That is also the reason why his plays are fundamentally false, for he would hardly admit the truth about his publicized anger, even to himself. So he directs it away from his true target. That is why the situation in his two straight plays bear no relation to contemporary



realities. They are based on conditions which did exist at one time—but before Mr. Osborne was born. What is most regrettable about Mr. Osborne is that he lends substance to the snobbery of those who believe that people from humble beginnings like himself cannot really be expected to behave like gentlemen. The hero of *Look Back in Anger* is married to an upper-class girl whose mother is horrified by the mésalliance. There would be the makings of a good play here, except that any mother, upper, middle or lower class, would have a heart attack at the thought of her daughter marrying a man like Porter.

Alienated

Mr. Dennis Potter is another young man who has rejected the standards which have come within his reach. Son of a miner, he was sent to Oxford at the public expense, became editor of *Isis* and was prominent in the Union. The position of such a young man is undoubtedly difficult. Inevitably he has grown away from his family and the playmates of his junior years. The extent of the alienation has been well described by Mr. Richard Hoggart, himself of working-class origin. He points out that the majority of the English working class are not only incapable of consecutive argument, but even of consecutive conversation. Their talk is a series of disconnected remarks interspersed by thoughtful or unthoughtful silences. (This is emphatically untrue of Scotland.) Further their intellectual interests are nil and their range of interests of any kind is as narrow as a child's. There are two million families in Britain that do not even buy a newspaper.

The possibilities of tension are obvious. The educated son does not speak or think the same way and his range of interests is infinitely wider. With a good deal of magnanimity on both sides friction can be kept to a minimum. But the magnanimity is not always there. It has recently come to light that a number of working-class parents refuse grammar school places for their children because their homework would interfere with the family television watching. Very few parents are as selfish as that, but in many working-class homes, clever children have to do their homework in sight and sound of television, and often enough with Mum ironing on the same table.

There is also the matter of resentment. If the educated youth does not confine himself to the traditional banalities of his native background, he is accused of snobbery, if not by his parents then by his former childhood friends. If he betrays his taste for classical music or for reading other than trash, he is then doubly a snob. On the whole, the ignorant are much more intolerant than the educated. Many of them angrily insist that nobody enjoys classical music: it is all pretense.

Even if there is abiding sympathy and love on both sides, the University-trained young man nevertheless finds himself living in two worlds. Mr. Dennis Potter is intelligent enough to perceive this, and in his book *The Glittering Coffin* he deals at some length with the dilemma. But never once does he admit that the deficiencies of the uncultured working class are intrinsic. On the contrary, he insists that the working class are the salt of the earth but are the victims of a debased and corrupting society which seeks through every evil mass medium to stupefy and vulgarize them. It is entirely the fault of the Madison Avenue attack on the pure hearts and minds of the honest toilers. His book is a windy

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and wordy collection of academic abstractions, like involvement, engagement and alienation. It is not without irony that the people on whose behalf he is writing could no more read his book than they could if it were wrtitten in Sanskrit.

A Parked Rolls Royce

Mr. Potter sees decay and corruption everywhere and is strident in his denunciation of every aspect of our society. But what is the quality of the young man who has angrily rejected the standards to which he has been introduced? Young Savanorola tells us three things about himself which have some interest. He tells us that one of his favorite amusements is to indulge in exhaustive and exhausting erotic fantasies. (The man who put these words in print is married and the father of a child who will be able to read some day.) He recalls a touching little incident of his early days. When he was a nine-year-old primary schoolboy he won an essay competition, and the headmaster was so proud of him that he read the essay to the whole school and gave him sixpence. Young Potter was filled with fear and shame. He had been forced into the position of collaboration with the Enemy, and his dear little playmates would inevitably regard him with loathing and contempt. So, to restore himself in their esteem, he waited until the classroom was empty and wrote a word of ugly vulgarity on the blackboard. This put him back where he belonged, for all his playmates knew who had done the deed, though it goes without saying that young Dennis never thought of admitting it to the headmaster who conducted an inquisition next day. It is not so important that a boy of nine should do this as that an Oxford graduate in his twenties should record it without shame. He tells us further that even today he much enjoys spitting on a parked Rolls Royce.

A parked Rolls Royce is an unattended Rolls Royce. Mr. Potter takes care to provide ample security for his spirited protests. He must think poorly of Martin Luther who was foolish enough to pin his protest publicly to a door.

This is the quality of the young man who sets out to improve the quality of our civilization. Is it worth writing about such protesters at all?

Unfortunately, it is. "Lucky Jim" instantly became a current catchword, freely used by people who had never read the book. *Look Back in Anger* had a large success both in London and New York. Mr. Potter was widely reviewed and this dedicated proletarian has a pin-stripe job with the BBC. It appears that Lucky Jim and Jimmy Porter of fancy and Mr. Potter of all too solid flesh are representative of something much larger than themselves. It is a chilling thought and calculated to make me regard the Galbraith disciples almost with affection. After all, the Affluent Society boys are civilized. Which is a large improvement on the Effluent Society boys.

It Happens in New York

It's more fun knocking Dixie, but shouldn't someone report on New York P.S. 163, where (Shhh) segregationists are at work!

W. H. VON DREELE

As everyone knows who reads the *New York Times* or its network papers about the country, New York is an "integrated" city. Until recently, doubters were admonished hourly over the city's radio station that here is a place "where eight million people live in peace and harmony and share the benefits of democracy." Indeed, were the visitor to happen thoughtlessly into my neighborhood on the colorful West Side, he might be convinced. The scene might even jog back from memory the words of that old Sunday School song: "Black and yellow, brown and white,/ They are precious in His sight;/ Jesus loves the little children of the world!"

I suggest, alas, that His utopia is still some years away for Gotham. And that the *Times* and Radio Station WNYC notwithstanding, birds of a feather continue to show a remarkable tendency to keep together, at least in New York City.

Some years back, the City Planning Commission OK'd a vast Urban-Renewal Project. Soon thereafter, the decree went out from City Hall that everything from Central Park West to Amsterdam Avenue, and from 97th Street north to 104th would be leveled.

Do not scoff at the Law of Eminent Domain: it is a powerful one. White crosses blossomed overnight on tenement windows. And there were the signs. THIS BUILDING SLATED FOR DEMOLITION. Daniel Defoe would have understood. So, evidently, did the original residents, for they were swiftly replaced by bulldozers and wrecking crews. Buildings that must have been standing long before Lincoln's first inaugural, vanished. The area looked like the ruins of Aachen in the winter of 1944. With a few exceptions, such as the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, all the buildings had been razed.

There followed a period of inactivity. For months, neighborhood children living on the periphery of this . . . this "project" had a grand time building, burrowing and fighting in the rubble. Eventually, a New York evening newspaper called its readers' attention to the strange lassitude on the part of the city officials. But that's another scandal, er, story.

Finally, the builders' shacks went up and foundations down. I, as a

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confirmed West Sider, rejoiced. Here was the City Beautiful in process of creation. I adopted a proprietary interest as:

1. from 97th to 100th Street, an air-conditioned, balcony-trimmed complex of red-brick structures rose, while

2. from 100th to 104th Street, red brick but somehow more "institutional" looking shafts soared upward. And meanwhile, joining the two areas,

3. the low-slung Alfred E. Smith School (P.S. 163) meandered in the approved ranch house style.

Report from the Top

At some point before completion, I got a message. This was to be an "integrated" neighborhood. The authorities . . . but let's go straight to the top. New York School Superintendent Dr. John J. Theobald has assembled the facts for us in a report titled simply: "Toward Greater Opportunity." Quote (from the *Times'* story):

"Illustrating the difficulties faced by the school authorities in trying to create and maintain integrated schools, the report points to the opening of P.S. 163, Manhattan, which was to serve two near-by developments: Frederick Douglas Houses, a low-income project of 2,057 apartments, and Park West Village, a privately sponsored development planning 2,583 apartments for middle and upper-income families. Douglas Houses is about 75 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican; Park West is almost entirely white.

"Park West parents sent only four children to P.S. 163, preferring to enroll their children in private and parochial schools." Needless to say, the italics are mine, not the *Times'*. The report was issued in June. Total Park West children enrolled now in P.S. 163: about ten.

And that's all there was. There was no editorializing, no *Times* comment which one would have expected had this experiment been tried in, say, Atlanta. And that is the point of this article.

For the people living in Park West Village are not from New Orleans, Richmond or Atlanta. Talk with some of them as I did. They are average to upper-income New Yorkers. They pay from $115 for a one-and-a-half-room apartment to around $250 for a four-roomer. Their names are Smith, Johnson, Stern, O'Leary. Many of them are in the professions. All of them were attracted by Park West's magnificent view of Central Park, and an equally spectacular rama shared, by the way, by residents view south over Manhattan (a pano- of the low-income project to the north). And frankly, those Webb and Knapp ads *are* enticing. Park West has "19-foot terraces, on-site parking, free gas, individually controlled air-conditioning," not to mention "many other luxury-living features."

Yet almost all of these people, when faced with choosing between an "integrated" P.S. 163 or private schools for their children, chose the latter. Nor did they line up outside the principal's office to chant: "Two-four-six-eight, we don't want to integrate!" Thus, they failed to make the front pages.

A School Man's View

Not so long ago I walked up to P.S. 163 and talked with a member of the faculty. The building is yellow brick, and completely surrounded by a wire hurricane fence. A sign on the fence advises: *"Loiterers in vicinity of school or Trespassers on school property are subject to arrest for disorderly conduct."* Not planning a sit-in, I pressed on. Inside the main entrance is another sign. *"Visitors report to Room 115. Loiterers will be . . ."* You know.

I was prompt, and so was the faculty member who must, I'm sorry to say, remain nameless. I had my queries organized.

Question: Sir, why are there so few Park West children in your school?

Answer: Hard to say. Some mothers are afraid they'll learn "bad habits." Others cite violence. It's a strange, generalized fear.

Question: Do you think ethnic questions enter in—the fact that the majority of your students come from Douglas Houses which are 75 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican?

Answer: You'll have to find that out on your own. Actually, I practice segregation here myself, and I've been criticized for it. But I do it for sound teaching reasons. In, say, the fifth grade, the slow learners go into the lower sections; the more gifted, into the top. Inevitably, there are fewer Negro and Puerto Rican children in the upper sections.

Question: Why "inevitably"?

Answer: Because of poor home conditions, cultural disadvantages, slow starts in life.

Question: Would you say there's considerable hypocrisy in New York's school integration program?

Answer: I'd have to agree with that.

My informant is a dedicated public school man. He wouldn't agree that the boycott of his school by Park West parents "proved" anything. He did agree, however, that the New York newspapers left his school pretty much alone; that they preferred to discuss Southern problems. He believes that time and the educational process will provide the ultimate solution.

But since I'm unable to name this gentleman, let's return once more to the good Dr. Theobald and his report. I quote verbatim from, once more, the *New York Times*.

"After years of 'a steady exodus' of white children to private and parochial schools, approximately one-third of all city children are now enrolled in such nonpublic institutions. In the last three years 53,683 children have left the city's elementary schools to attend private and parochial schools. Between 1950 and 1958 a total of 835,000 alien immigrants, Puerto Ricans and Negroes from the South, moved into the city, with Puerto Ricans and Negroes constituting almost 60 per cent of the total. In the same period 1,285,000 persons, most of them white, left New York City."

I suggest these figures prove something: that school integration is a national problem. I believe the personal decisions *not* to integrate taken by parents in Park West deserve national attention. And I'd like to end with a plea To Whom It May Concern. Please! New York's school integration woes *also* provide "news that's fit to print." Give an occasonal look at what's doing in the Big Town's system. It's fun to knock Dixie, but Broadway's your beat, too. Some call it the loneliest street in town.

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The Third World War

Words East and West

JAMES BURNHAM

I spent an evening not long ago with an historian who was born in East Europe, and has lived most of his sixty years in Russia, central Asia and the Mideast. Much of what he said circled around a thesis that I shall reduce to the confines of this page:

Westerners believe (he said), or rather assume, that the purpose of discourse is the statement and communication of truths. They realize that words sometimes state error or falsehood, but this they consider a perversion of the proper purpose, resulting from either an unconscious defect (ignorance) or a deliberate defect (fraud, deceit) in the speaker.

This assumption is plain in the Aristotelian definition of man as "rational," and in the Western faith in the universality of a logic based on the principle of non-contradiction. Immanuel Kant, the quintessential modern Western philosopher, making this assumption the cornerstone of his theories of both knowledge and morality, concluded that discourse is *impossible* on any other basis. Edward R. Murrow announces that his USIA operation will "stand on the rugged basis of truth."

However evident all this may seem to Western minds, it is irrelevant within most non-Western cultures. For most Asians and Africans, the statement of truths (in the Western sense) is a minor function of discourse. In their evaluation, moreover, the use of words for purposes other than truth-stating may not be a sign of any defect of mind or morality, of either ignorance or deceit.

The Japanese are the most polite people on earth, but the elaborate politeness they show you has nothing to do with how they really feel about you: they are just as polite five minutes before driving a knife into your intestines—or their own. An Iraqi's comment on the weather will express not his meteorological observation but his mood, or the impression he wishes to make on you. The infinite bargaining of an oriental bazaar is not an exchange of information about products, qualities and costs, not even a negotiation in the Western sense, but a dazzling network spun of fantasies, clouds, false scents, indirection. It is not a problem of lies *vs.* honesty, but of quite different dimensions. A central African, a Hindu, an Indonesian will tell you, not only from hate or indifference but sometimes out of a love that seeks only to please you, what you as a Westerner would have to consider outrageous falsehoods.

On a more elaborate scale, a good Moslem may, for years running and even a lifetime, express in his words an entire system of religious, philosophical or political belief that in no way corresponds to his inner, subjective faith. The verbal system is not a mirror but a mask of his real faith. And do not forget that for many Asians and Africans, the line between reality and illusion, science and magic, natural and preternatural, past and future, is differently and much less sharply drawn than in the West.

Wide of the Verbal Mark

This fundamental difference in the function of discourse, of words, is a principal source of Westerners' failure to comprehend Soviet policy. For in this matter the Russians are orientals; and of course among the Soviet leaders are many from fully Asian peoples, not to speak of the Chinese.

When the Russians state that they have fired a 7.1-ton satellite into orbit, raised machine tool output 63 per cent, wiped out prostitution or shut the forced labor camps; when the Chinese say that their latest factory is turning out 300 tractors weekly, that rice production is double last year's, and flies eliminated; then the natural Western instinct is to believe that things are indeed so. Perhaps exaggerated—we all boast a little, don't we? But it does not occur to a Westerner that these words may be *totally* unrelated to fact: that there may have been not just a smaller satellite but no satellite at all; that prostitution may be in truth up, and new camps just opened; that there may be not a little less than double the rice but a famine, not a smaller tractor output but none. The difficulty is still greater if the Westerner has become personally acquainted with Communist leaders, and found them apparently pleasant, friendly fellows, ready for jokes and drinks. It does not occur to our Westerner that, whatever the facts, the Russians (Chinese, Uzbeks . . .) are not using words for the sake of stating—or even mis-stating—those facts, but to produce certain psychological, and thereby political and strategic, effects.

If Khrushchev, Zorin and Menshikov keep talking about disarmament, banning nuclear weapons, reducing tensions, holding conferences, etc., there must be *something* in it, our Westerner assumes. At least it is worth while to carry on the dialogue, keep up negotiations, get the facts straight, and patiently "clear up misunderstandings."

Sun Tzu Say

In reality there are no misunderstandings of any moment, on the Sino-Russian side, and if there were, they would be irrelevant. They know, without Mr. Murrow's help, how many lynchings really take place in the U.S., just as they know that the Baltic nations are Russian colonies, and that their agents run the Pathet Lao. They are using their words, not by our rules, but as weapons, screens, drugs, diversions, traps, seductions; not to express but to hide reality; to lead us astray, blind us to their weaknesses, and drain our will to resist.

"All warfare is based on deception," wrote Sun Tzu, the great strategist of the sixth century. "Indirect tactics, efficiently applied, are as inexhaustible as Heaven and Earth, unending as the flow of rivers and streams. To fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." His pupil, Mao Tse-tung, echoes: "Make a noise in the east, but strike in the west."

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Federal Aid to Educational Bureaucracy

On the various pieces of mischief that the New Kings of the Wild Frontier will try to force through the present session of Congress, probably the one calculated to do the greatest damage unto these United States, in the long run, is the federal - aid - to - education proposal. Although apparently the provisions for subsidizing teachers' salaries will not pass — provided enough people remind their Congressmen that they don't want it—there remains the ominous possibility, or even probability, that Congress may vote for the school-construction provisions without sufficient consideration.

Kirk

Last month there was published the second volume of Mr. Roger Freeman's systematic study of public school costs and legislative proposals, *Financing the Public Schools.* This second volume is entitled *Taxes for the Public Schools.* Both volumes are published by The Institute for Social Science Research, Continental Building, Washington 5, D.C., and cost $5.00 each. You cannot make a better investment than to buy a copy of this study for yourself, and to give copies to members of your school board and to your state senator and representative. And make sure that your federal senators and members in the House of Representatives know about it.

Dispassionately and accurately, Mr. Freeman proves that sufficient money for good schools—even the $23 or 24 billion annually which may be required by 1970—can be raised from local and state property taxes and sales taxes. There is no financial necessity for federal subsidies; and, indeed, the few hundred million or one billion dollars which the congressional federal aid proposals contemplate would furnish only about 5 per cent of the total school bill.

For what the zealots for federal aid really desire is not simply more money, but more power—great power. The present pretexts of school construction and bonuses to teachers' salaries are intended merely as entering wedges: the first steps toward establishing a wholly centralized system of public instruction, directed by an important Washington bureaucracy. And that bureaucracy would be formed of ideologues whose god is John Dewey, intent on smashing traditional education and substituting "progressive," "permissive," "life-adjustment," collectivistic educational dogmas. Such people already run the federal Office of Education. Once they should get control of the state and local educational systems, they would force out all dissenters from this anti-intellectual "educational" domination.

The evangels of federal aid tell us, of course, that they want federal money without federal control of education. That is an impossibility, for the man who pays the piper naturally and rightfully calls the tune. And the leaders of the federal aid campaign know that they are working toward a centralized system of educational propagandizing, though as yet they find it prudent not to confess this ambition to the American public.

Mr. Freeman's book contains overwhelming evidence of this centralizing design. He has collected several of the more candid declarations of leaders in the federal aid crusade, and I give you some samples here.

Mr. William Benton, the former senator, a leading light of ritualistic Liberalism, says that we must abolish the "48 Balkanized units, each in turn Balkanized into scores of hundreds of local districts" of our educational system, so as to compete with Soviet Russia. (It seems to be Mr. Benton's thesis that the best way to defeat the Communists is to emulate their totalism.)

Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, speaks out for national direction of education "as a primary instrument of national policy."

Mr. H. Thomas James, of the School of Education, Stanford University, stands unabashedly for collectivizing education: "As the states have denied, first to the family, and then to local communities, the right to make decisions on education contrary to state-defined policy, so the nation may be expected to deny to the states the right to make decisions on educational policy that are not in accord with the emerging national policy for education."

Mr. Myron Lieberman, of the Educational Research Council of Greater Cleveland, denounces "the myth that local control of education, with perhaps a few concessions made to state control, is one of the important safeguards of educational freedom and of our free society."

And so it goes. Congressmen who have studied the federal aid question realize that there cannot be federal subsidies to the schools without thoroughgoing federal control of school policies. Mr. Graham Barden, until recently chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, suggested that the purpose of the federal aid bill of 1957 was "to centralize power over our school system here in Washington, where it is easier to apply concentrated pressure." And the late John Lesinski Sr., Mr. Barden's predecessor as chairman of that House committee, said in 1957, "I am convinced, after the hard study we have put to the question, that no acceptable bill preventing federal domination of the local schools can be drawn."

Of the forty thousand school districts in this country, only 237 seem to have any real need for help in school construction. For this paltry task, we are asked to violate the American system of division of powers, and to establish a totalist system of national public instruction, managed by doctrinaires whose own "education" is a caricature of our cultural heritage.

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Blue-Denimed Ants of Red China

FORREST DAVIS

The failure of the United States and the West to clear the earth of pestilential Communism, as they perceived the evil of Nazism and finally eradicated it, must be imputed to wilful ignorance. For the audit of Bolshevism's monomania and its monstrously degrading rule in the Eurasian arc of its conquests—as totted up by Western Communists restored to mental and spiritual health, by escapees and by unillusioned visitors, as well as in the self-revelation of Communist boastings, criticism and statistics—is recorded in thousands of volumes which would fill a vaulted hall in the Library of Congress. It is all there for our statesmen, including the record of the open, venomous and inveterate siege laid against the liberties, institutions and values of the Western societies by Moscow and Peiping. Yet the West remains in retreat, out of a sickness, one fears, that is compounded of Liberal positivism, unmanly fear of physical annihilation, and a crisis of the nerves against which the truths of history have not yet, and may not ever, prevail.

Suzanne Labin's *The Anthill: The Human Condition in Communist China*, translated from its successful French edition by Edward Fitzgerald, adds an eloquent, compassionate and emotionally stirring dimension to the literature of the enemy's schizophrenic deracination, his inhumanity to man, and his insensate determination to reduce us all to blue-denimed ants on our own anthills.

The *Anthill* made its American advent admidst quite significant concurrent events. As if verifying the book's findings, Peiping and Hong Kong reported Mao Tse-tung "reforming" the monumental *corvée* system known as the commune, which has in three years brought famine and unimaginable misery to 500 million Chinese peasants, into something resembling the Soviet *kolkhoz*. Simultaneously, the bureaucracy, blaming "reactionary elements" and "former landlords," tacitly admitted the breakdown of the "great leap forward" in industry as well as in agriculture, and ordered new purges and a mammoth campaign of "re-education" among party cadres.

The Anthill: The Human Condition in Communist China, by Suzanne Labin. Praeger, $6.75

Madame Labin chose a novel and laborious method for inventorying life on several levels in Red China; she interviewed 54 typical escapees among the million and a half émigrés from Communist enslavement crowding Hong Kong and its refugee camps. Knowing from the reports of objective visitors that no true insight could be gained within the Bamboo Curtain, she sought the truth from those free to speak. These included, although the names are pseudonyms in deference to the safety of relatives left behind, peasant Fan Ling, former Communist Ku, former Young Communist Lei, bank clerk Chang, student Ping, merchant Wang, worker Tsong, trade union official Liang, schoolmistress Shuen, midwife Yu, feminist Yee, Judge Han, Professor Tsai, partisan Ma and a former secretary of the tolerated but shadowy Democratic Party, Tchen.

We have had much testimony to the antlike nature of life in Communist China, most of it impersonal (with the exception of an occasional bit of the record like Professor Richard L. Walker's distillation of letters from within the pale); but here we have the intensely personal record of sufferings unknown to China since the "absolutist terror" of Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, who in the third century B.C. built the Great Wall of China with forced labor. It was the peasant Fan Ling who remarked to Madame Labin that not since the Ming dynasty had he and his kind known "masters."

The cumulative weight of this testimony is impressive; the details often harrowing. Common threads running through the experiences lend veracity to the whole, although here and there are minor implausibilities and questionable statistics. Madame Labin has taken pains to buttress the evidence of her interlocutees as to the swift succession of "reform" campaigns, production "drives" and the stages of the terror, with decrees and official and journalistic pronouncements from Peiping.

As Arthur Koestler wrote of Madame Labin in his foreword to her earlier book on Stalin's Russia, she "unites the scrupulous objectivity of the research scientist with the pathos and eloquence of a Jacobin." This, too, is a passionate book, evoking pity for the peasant Fan Ling, deprived by the commune of his pig, his buffalo, his patch of land and finally his wife, but not his debts; sympathy for the recanted Communist official, conscience-gnawed and put in fear because of his rescue of a girl miraculously spared from the firing squad in a village square; and profound admiration for the courage of those Chinese, "voting with their feet" in Lenin's phrase, risking death under the guns of the border guards or execution if caught alive.

A wonder, too, that, as the 54 recited their tales, their principal grievance against the Communist usurper was not so much his denial of pork, soya oil, tea, sugar and other amenities in order that they might be exported, the bone-wearying labor, or even the unexampled fury of the purges; but the reduction of life to a master-serf relationship, the necessity

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for surrendering to the *kanpous* (a collective term for Peiping's minions swarming the land) every shred of privacy, personal dignity and simple humanity. These were revolted individuals who had fled a regime which in addition to desolating the land had desolated man himself.

Madame Labin's gripping work poses anew the familiar and inescapable question: What shall the organic, hopeful and powerful West do about this horrifying phenomenon, this urgent and enlarging menace? Shall we oppose it with every resource of mind and matter, helping its victims overthrow it? Or, shall we strive to bribe it with concessions in the wan hope that the despots of Moscow and Peiping will abandon in the sun of our trust the essential core of their perverse dogma?

I happened to be reading *Anthill* on Inauguration Day. President Kennedy's felicitous, much-admired address issued clearly from the TV tubes. His rhetoric concerning the defense of liberty and the solidarity of

the hemisphere was reassuring. It was when he invited "states who would be our adversaries" to "explore [with us] what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us" that I took alarm. A numbing sensation that we were in truth back in time to Franklin D. Roosevelt swept me as the President bade "both sides" join to "invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors . . . to explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce" and, finally, to create "a new world of law."

To whom, in the light of our vast knowledge of the verities of Communism, could he be addressing himself? Then I read one of Madame Labin's conclusions: "There can be only one hope and one guarantee of peace . . . and that is the fall of the dictatorships in Moscow and Peiping. As long as they remain . . . , no man in any place on earth can look forward to the future with any confidence . . ." It is their neck, or ours.

In the logomachy of these days, Communist mendacity and the bottomless gullibility of Liberalism still seemingly prevail over history in the councils of state.

The Split-Level Personality

RUSSELL KIRK

"Stress diseases"—that is, disorders of personality—are far more prevalent in the sprawling suburbs of the new America than in established communities, the authors of *The Split-Level Trap* make clear. The causes and cures of these emotional ailments are examined at some length by the authors—Richard E. Gordon, Katherine K. Gordon, and Max Gunther (who are a psychiatrist and his wife, and a professional writer who "put the Gordon's observations into words").

The Split-Level Trap, by Richard E. Gordon, Katherine K. Gordon and Max Gunther. Bernard Geis Associates, $4.95

The Gordons base their analysis upon a close examination of life in Bergen County, New Jersey. They present a series of fictional case-histories—that is, representative accounts of distressed suburbanites, not taken from actual lives, but rather composite portraits of emotionally distraught suburban folk. The principal cause of the high rate of psychological illness among the dwellers in the split-level houses of Bergen County, the Gordons believe, is mobility: the rootlessness and restlessness of these "movers," human flotsam in the new housing developments. They suffer, in short, from what Simone Weil called "the need for roots." Lacking a sense of community and permanence, they fall victim to the obsessions and hysteria of the lonely crowd, reflected in shocking rates of divorce, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, and visits to psychiatrists.

The most interesting thing about this book (written for a popular audience) is that it has broken with the vulgarized Freudianism of the sort that Dr. Karen Horney has preached. Though they do not specifically disavow the "permissive" and unbuttoned psychology that has so long influenced three-quarter-educated Americans, in fact they pretty thoroughly reject what Professor Richard LaPiere calls "the Freudian ethic." They return, instead, to common sense: that is, more or less traditional norms. One might almost say that the Gordons return to Max Weber's "Protestant ethic," for they commend hard work, social duties and disciplined character. They stop short at acknowledging any influence of religion upon personality and community, nevertheless; their only references to religion are some brief observations upon the risks of mixed marriages, and a mention of how middle-aged "Martha Kohler" prayed with an old clergyman, "but the world was always waiting each day when she left the church. The problems were still there."

On schooling, the Gordons have some very sensible things to say. *"Probably the most common problem is that represented by the gimme kids. No one has insisted that they study; they have been showered with gifts whether they studied or not. No one has shown them the value and purposes of education. They are not willing to work. 'We won't study,' they tell the nation's educators, 'unless you make the lesson so entertaining that it won't be work.'... But sugar-coated education is self-defeating. Part of the value of education is the sheer experience of work, learning the habit*

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of sticking with a task even though it isn't fun."

Similarly, the Gordons denounce effectively the fallacy that discipline will spoil a child's tender personality. They are seriously alarmed at the decay of industry and self-reliance. *"Carl Hager, Burt Green and Harley Tragg* [three of the case-history characters] *are the kinds of men who have helped make America big. Their sons and daughters may help destroy it. They represent the softening in America, the weakening of moral fiber that has been so widely observed . . . The climber life tends to breed spoiled, semi-delinquent kids who become spoiled, non-producing adults. It is a dangerous weakness, a harbinger of softening and decadence such as have wrecked other cultures in the past."*

In their remarks on sexual morality and customs, however, the Gordons retain some flavor of the "emancipation" of thirty years ago. A reasonable amount of fornication is all right with them, so long as you're old enough and not married. "The old rule requiring abstinence of the widowed and divorced was developed before cheap, effective contraceptives and excellent treatment of venereal disease." But—and here again common sense or the Protestant ethic has a hearing—"the pendulum has swung too far the other way in the case of teen-agers, and the result has been teen-age libertines."

In their social and political views, the Gordons (despite an incongruous and ill-reasoned little plug for federal subsidies to "community education funds") seem rather conservative—indeed, almost to a fault. They are complacent about the ends of modern American life: "Wealth can, and with intelligent handling usually will, bring the full, rich, contented life Americans dream about." Repeatedly they speak of making the psychologically distressed into "productive members of society"; "production" is almost a god-term with them, seemingly the aim of existence. They smile at "a notion that we would be purer and happier if we were poorer—if we sat on hard benches and contemplated the Infinite instead of our wealthy neighbor's house and Cadillac."

Their remedies for "stress diseases" are various techniques of adjustment to reality—most of these sound and practically put: suburbanites really can get good counsel from the latter chapters. Yet they do not touch upon the possibility of restoring community, the great social question raised by Dr. R. A. Nisbet in *The Quest for Community*. Probably this is beyond the scope of the book. They also ignore, however, something which cannot well be separated from the study of psychological disorders: the power of religious belief.

Christianity in the suburbs deserves a big book to itself, and one cannot blame the Gordons for failing to take up the question at length. Yet to leave altogether out of consideration the decline of Christian faith into what Dr. Will Herberg calls "the ethos of sociability" is to shrug aside primary causes of order or disorder in personality and community. Becoming a productive member of society is well enough; but it is no cure for all the ills to which flesh is heir; and it is not the be-all and end-all of human striving. There is also, for instance, the imitation of Christ.

The Divided and the Indivisible

PETER MELIK

A FEW DAYS ago, when I was still having a wonderful time with Edgar Lehrman's new selection of Turgenev's letters, I saw a review by David Magarshack which condemned the translation as outrageous and irresponsible. It seems that too often Mr. Lehrman's knowledge of Russian was just inadequate to Turgenev's occasion, and point after point was muddled. Mr. Magarshack gave several examples, and referred to others.

Turgenev's Letters, A Selection, edited and translated by Edgar H. Lehrman. Knopf, $5.00

His dismay was sincere, and his authority as one of Turgenev's English biographers is certainly sound. If I pass on his warning, however, it is chiefly because, with all due respect, I must confess that after a few moments of token anxiety, I went right back to reading the Lehrman text and in spite of everything, I enjoyed it, immensely and gratefully, to the very last page.

The fact is, Turgenev died nearly eighty years ago, after half a century's correspondence in four languages. His novels have been translated several times, yet Mr. Lehrman is the first man who has taken the trouble to give us an English sampling of his mailbag. I think at the least this ought to get him more than hoots from scholarly *confrères*, and especially since Turgenev's temper, "the color of this man's soul," is transmitted so lucidly and amply throughout. My own only objection to the book (apart from its size—I wish it were four times as long) is the absence of any directory of correspondents. When so many of the letters are addressed to names like A. V. Druzhinin, I. I. Panaev, Princess O. D. Khilkovoi, I. Borisov, etc., a brief Who's Who would have been handy.

Of all the great Russian writers, Turgenev has always seemed to me the most interesting as a man (and the most satisfying as an artist too, though this isn't the place to argue that). Beside him, for instance, both Tolstoi and Dostoevski lack something, something which is awkward to define, and even more awkward to defend, since it is a negative virtue, and maybe not even a virtue at all. What it amounts to is a capacity for being divided. It was Turgenev's gift to be two-faced, a double man. For him, weakness was inseparable from strength, and wherever he looked, he saw things as Hamlet did, without assurance or absoluteness. "I want the truth, and not salvation," he declared at twenty-nine, and he remained plastic enough all his life never to settle for any doctrinaire simplification of it.

Hence, both Tolstoi and Dostoevski despised him and found him frivolous and vacillating. Profound visionaries, powerful propagandists, they had exactly opposite gifts. They could be indivisible. They could believe fiercely and exclude religiously.

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They were purists. They could put all their eggs in the basket of Christian humility, or all their rubles on the *rouge* of Slavic destiny, and to them Turgenev always seemed equivocating, of two minds, uncommitted.

Sooner or later, most of his other contemporaries took the same view, and his literary career was largely a succession of scandals, in which one faction or another accused him of being a turncoat. Thus, in one of his earlier novels, *On the Eve,* he portrayed the new generation which was demanding radical social changes. Young Russia hailed him as a prophet. Two years later, in *Fathers and Sons,* he just as keenly portrayed the limitations and presumptions of this same generation. He was promptly branded. Yet he had only recorded what he had seen around him—human nature as it was, a complex and inconsistent substance. Tolstoi was right when he said, in a letter written after Turgenev's death, that "the main thing about him was his *truthfulness.*"

Or almost right. There is another quality even more characteristic, or comprehensive, and which even the slightest of these 400 letters imparts at a glance. This is his openness, his sheer availability, his glorious though not necessarily uncritical attentiveness to the human creature as God made him, rather than as He asks him to be. Turgenev himself put it best in a letter to a lady whose son had been assigned to write a school paper on "Turgenev's Outlook on Life as Shown in His Works": *"I am mainly a realist and interested most in the living truth of the human physiognomy; I am indifferent to everything supernatural; I do not believe in any absolutes or systems, and—as far as I can judge—I am vulnerable to poetry. Everything human is dear to me."*

Elusive Matterhorn

GARRY WILLS

NEWMAN is one of those authors who has described himself with such penetration that all biographers and commentators have been baffled by the mysterious personality intensely present, realized yet elusive, in every word he wrote. The clarity of his thought and style, his carefully explained position, his public stance, paradoxically compound the mystery: light increasing, by contrast, the darkness of the depths no one will ever chart. In *Newman the Theologian,* though he embarks on an ambitious codifying of Newman's thought, the Belgian Dominican Jan Hendrik Walgrave is aware of the difficulties this involves. In an unfortunate moment, he ventures that "it might be of interest to study Newman in the light of modern characterology" (and appends a note on what Jung has been up to recently).

Newman the Theologian, by Jan Hendrik Walgrave. Sheed and Ward, $8.50

One cannot type or explain mystery, though one can isolate it. In that sense we can "place" Newman, not under an abstract classification, but in the company of real men, whose mysteries correspond in part to Newman's own. Born orator seeking an audience, yet a recluse afraid of natural gratifications; incisive logician, yet writing the richest kind of romantic prose, he is one of a distinguished company—Jerome torn between Cicero and the cave; Augustine oscillating between puns and pessimism; Johnson roaring by day and praying by night; Ronald Knox, a wit and something of a dandy, yet with it all monastic. Of these the most interesting parallel is that between Newman and Johnson, no doubt because of the English character they both triumphantly typify. Both men read their Cicero with reverence second only to that which Scripture demanded of them. Both fought with vigor those who knew no piety toward the past—Newman living in the Church of Ambrose and Athanasius, Johnson in the England of the Stuarts. Each saw, behind the shallow sallies of the Liberal or the Whig, the marshaled battalions of the devil.

Cardinal Newman

In both men, faith was so vivid that it seemed to some to be superstition: Newman praying to the angel of Oxford, Johnson invoking God's blessing on every step he took and doing penance in the rain for his sin of disobedience. Confident before men, they lived in profound yet controlled terror of final Judgment. Though each was extremely witty, their deeper meditations take on an air of melancholy. Neither was a poet or novelist, yet we have *Rasselas* and *Callista, The Vanity of Human Wishes* and *The Dream of Gerontius.* Each lives in his autobiography, in a posture of defense—Johnson defiant, with Boswell taking notes of the debate, Newman baring his soul at a challenge from Kingsley. The work of each is a sturdy and massive fabric, yet one that was obviously shaken, at intervals, by earthquake emotions and trials.

Under the clashing emotions of the scholar, and artist, and Christian—emotions whose complexity and intensity would, in most men, have resulted in hysteria—their clarity and rapidity of intellect commanded respect even from those unalterably opposed to their religious and political views. Yet this mental edge and agility has eluded all codification in system. This is partly because their intellectual activity—hard, springy, and wire-drawn—was joined to a style which distances, "fleshes," and situates in a complete atmosphere, every movement of the mind. Ideas are for them personal, alive with human consequence and a complexity only to be acted out in life. Each distrusted the mind, and so subjected it to an athletic *ascesis.* The result was another paradox: joined to their pious regard for the past was a

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great strain and stretch of originality. Neither belonged to any inherited "school" of thought. The almost paralyzing cogency of their reflections on any subject can only be grasped if one comes to understand the entire dynamics of thought and life in each. For both men *lived a demonstration* of the truths to which they devoted themselves.

All this is assumed by Walgrave, who nonetheless attempts to measure Newman's thought against that of the systematic philosophers and scientists. The result is an extensive and useful handbook, often confusing in its hasty summation of things as complex as the Newmanian corpus (*e.g.*, the phenomena of history known as "Platonism" or "Thomism"), but above all proving that such a quest, no matter how honestly and thoroughly done, is ultimately irrelevant. The thing should only be done to show that it is not worth doing.

The best thing about the book is its bibliography, since Walgrave, professor of theology at Louvain, knows the vast European literature on Newman and refers to it at every turn. It is interesting to see what attention has been given Newman by the existentialists and modern theologians, who find in his concepts of development and "real assent" a realism recast and resurrected. For the same reason, the positivist school of thought has been unable to cope with him. Walgrave concludes that Newman was not a metaphyscian, in any technical sense, but an "apologist." This puts Newman in the company of the Fathers of the Church, which would have pleased him; but these distinctions become irrelevant once thought reaches a certain level.

Take the calipers of characterology to Newman? As well measure the Matterhorn with a six-inch ruler.

Books of Interest

The World of Venice, by James Morris (Pantheon, $5.00). Scraps of travel and history and random observations, all pieced together with some rather dazzling prose.

A Quota of Seaweed, by Hamilton Basso (Doubleday, $3.95). Pleasant sketches, in the *New Yorker* and *Holiday* genres, about Spain, Brazil, Honduras, Jamaica, Tahiti and Samoa.

Heroic Love, by Edward Loomis (Knopf, $3.75). Short novels and a story by a writer with 20-20 vision for the action, perfect pitch for the language.

Red Star over Cuba, by Nathaniel Weyl (Devin-Adair, $4.50). Dots the i's and crosses the t's for those judicious rationalizers who cling to (at least) uncertainty about Castro.

The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson, edited by Thomas H. Johnson (Little, Brown, $10.00). In 1955, Emily Dickinson's poems were published, for the first time, the way they were written, with her syntax and punctuation intact; this is a one-volume edition, lacking only the variant texts, of that important three-volume work.

Movies

'Hiroshima' Hits the Road

ANTONI E. GOLLAN

Hiroshima, Mon Amour has scored filmland's grand slam. It has won the New York film critics' award as the best foreign film of the past year and posies from the Freudians, CORE, SANE and the *New York Times.* Now it is being shown in local American theaters to instruct the populace that, whatever happens, we must never contemplate war again.

As the film opens, the audience is treated to a close-up of a woman's hands convulsively caressing and digging into a man's bare back. It is abundantly clear that the featured *dramatis personae* are not picking huckleberries; but as the players continue, we learn from their dialogue that contemporary Hiroshima is the *mise en scène,* that she has seen the World War II ruins during her stay (She: "Now I have seen it." He, somberly: "No, you have not seen it"); that the twin atomic bombings took many lives ("These figures are official," she reminds her lover, nibbling on his ear); and that the world is still sadly plagued with political systems that allow class conflict.

Why issues of such import are discussed in such circumstances escapes me; I had always supposed that even Khrushchev finds occasional respite.

It develops that the "he" is a married Japanese architect, who is interested in politics as a sideline and who speaks French remarkably well because he's intrigued by the French Revolution. Also by anti-American demonstrations. The "she" is a French visitor to Hiroshima, also married, who identifies the architect with a German soldier with whom she had a youthful affair during the Nazi occupation. After the liberation of France, her townspeople just couldn't understand why she had given herself to one of the enemy; their provincial outlook, coupled with the German's death, drove her to temporary madness. Fortunately she has recovered over the years, but there remains work to be done.

In Hiroshima she discovers that she can triumph over international misunderstanding by using the same battle techniques she perfected in France. The feeling is that we've got to show the Japanese that we're no longer at war, that we're friends, that we're ashamed we still have the Bomb, and, well . . . each in his own way.

In the midst of such petty hypocrisies as the desire of nations to remain free, extramarital sex proves to be just the thing. It's the only decent solution, especially if it's interracial. Complications set in, and the two fall into the throes of what passes for love. For the latter third of the film, she wanders aimlessly around Hiroshima with him close behind, whispering "Don't go back to France."

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It must be said that, from a technical point of view, *Hiroshima* is a complete artistic success. The directing and acting are marvelous, and for those who hanker after the old Tennessee Williams, it's chock-full of symbolism.

Happily, the bulk of the film's message may be somewhat lost in the hinterlands. I saw it in Miami, and, as I left the theater, witnessed a female critic gazing starry-eyed at her escort and observing, "Gee, great flick, huh?"

Forthcoming Reviews

Raymond Moley on *Midcentury*, by John Dos Passos

Frank S. Meyer on *The Necessity for Choice*, by Henry A. Kissinger and *On Thermonuclear War*, by Herman Kahn

Joan Didion on *A Burnt-Out Case*, by Graham Greene

BOOKS IN BRIEF

PEACE WITH JUSTICE, *Selected Addresses of Dwight D. Eisenhower* (Columbia, $4.00). Connoisseurs of the verbless sentence who rush to buy this book are in for a disappointment. These are not the great man's words as they fell, in the familiar matchless confusion, from his lips. Rather, this is a carefully chosen compendium of set speeches, largely ghosted by anonymous wordsmiths from the Luce collection and BBD&O and read (more or less) by Mr. Eisenhower on state occasions—lighting the national Christmas tree, etc. As such, however, they have an eerie fascination of their own. The syntax is impeccable; the verbs are all there; the nouns include every safe and platitudinous abstraction known to modern English philology. And yet, these speeches were born dead. Not a shred of authentic emotion animates them, let alone any hint of an original perception. Their emptiness is not even obscured by a saving felicity of expression. H. L. Mencken wrote that Harding's formal prose reminded him "of dogs barking idiotically through endless nights. It is so bad that a sort of grandeur creeps into it. . . . It drags itself out of the dark abysm of pish and crawls insanely up the topmost pinnacle of posh." Mr. Eisenhower's official speeches aren't quite that bad, unfortunately. No grandeur. W. A. RUSHER

TO A YOUNG ACTRESS, *The Letters of Bernard Shaw to Molly Tompkins*, edited by Peter Tompkins (Clarkson N. Potter, $8.50). Shaw's discourses on the Superman were, in the common saying, "all talk," though terribly clever talk. His brash bearing was only his heart's disguise, and the delight in "naughtiness" could only come from a certain childlike innocence. He was as curious about an American flapper-turned-aesthete as that bubble-headed beauty was determined to charm one of the landmarks of Europe. The girl, who had a native shrewdness buried somewhere in her brain of feathers, soon found out that the way to get a "rise" from the proper old wit was to try to seduce him on all possible occasions. The occasions were few, since the girl flitted from Paris to Italy to America, but for over twenty-five years an epistolary wink brought an inevitable response, full of the wittiest dodging and decorum. Shaw at least pretended to be advising her, but must have known he was simply intrigued. The ironies of such long-distance flirtation were sustained on both sides, and he certainly enjoyed his role of elder confessor warding off the siren; so will anyone who reads this handsome volume. G. WILLS

RUSSIA, AMERICA, AND THE WORLD, by Louis Fischer (Harper, $4.50). Although the author places undue emphasis on the supposed falling-out between Red China and Russia (a rift which the recent Communist Summit proved to be nonexistent), he is no longer fooled by Communist intentions, as he was some years ago. Instead, he cautions the West to be wary of Red treaties (in which "words are . . . used as bullets to attack and paralyze the brain"), to eschew unilateral disarmament ("whom the gods wish to destroy," he writes, "they first make deaf to the cautionary lessons of history"), and to discount Communist coexistence overtures (in which the free nations are asked "to abjure the cold war and trust their impatient Red undertakers"). Somewhat surprisingly (or is it?), he insists that during the 1959 Camp David talks, Eisenhower made a deal with Khrushchev for the West to abandon Berlin, only to have de Gaulle, with the backing of Adenauer, frustrate the proposed sellout. But while conservatives will largely agree with the author's presentation of world problems, they are certain to reject his Liberal, internationalist solutions. Likewise, they undoubtedly will reject his thesis that Communism, with the passage of time, will voluntarily turn its energies from aggression to economic pursuits.

E. MCDOWELL

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To the Editor

Footnote to a Footnote

Regarding "Footnote to History" ["The Week," January 28]: It doesn't change the general result, but you did not mention Oklahoma. It went heavily GOP, but one of its eight electors voted for Byrd. However, if you deduct one-eighth of Oklahoma's GOP vote and give it to Byrd, it still leaves Nixon the popular winner.

Grafton, Vt. SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

Nixon's Campaign

After reading in NATIONAL REVIEW. ["The Week," January 28] that the Republicans "rolled up a larger vote for Nixon than the Democrats did for Kennedy," I was startled by the publicizing on page 38 of the sneers at Nixon.

Did these "four different Republicans who labored for Nixon" expect him to perform miracles in such places as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis? He won twenty-six states and three-fourths of the counties outside of the South. Yet he was intimately identified with a failing Administration, ran counter to a religious preference in areas of decisive importance, was the target of Liberal hatred, was victimized by newspapermen and deserted by conservative perfectionists scandalized at election tactics which offered the sole hope of winning. Yet he came within a fraction of an inch of victory in a contest that for him was uphill from the start. His campaign was admirable. He covered himself with honor. I think it most regrettable that the NATIONAL REVIEW has printed such offensive sneers. . .

Rye, N.Y. ROSS J. S. HOFFMAN

That was quite a Herblockian send-off you gave Mr. Nixon's exodus from Washington. I of course have no idea just who are those four quoted Republicans "who had labored for Nixon." But as one who also labored (farm speeches and other chores) at the Nixon-Lodge headquarters, please permit my signed version of what went on.

Says Republican #1: "Nixon's headquarters were . . . disorganized." Perhaps, but no more so than the *New York Times* city desk or NATIONAL REVIEW meeting a deadline. Pressure was great; phones got jammed; mail surged in; lobbyists, reporters, patronage-seekers and "experts" tried to buttonhole everyone in sight. So for comic relief I once wandered over to the Kennedy-Johnson headquarters just around the block on Connecticut Avenue. Compared to them, we were a model of efficiency. Moral: Disorganization pays off?

From Republican #2: "I refused to submit to denazification proceedings for having liked Bob Taft." Well, I liked Bob, too; and, worse crime, I subscribed to and wrote for NATIONAL REVIEW. And never did Dick Nixon, Len Hall, or Bob Finch ask me to burn Bill Buckley in effigy.

From Republican #3: "To get anywhere near Nixon or his group . . . required getting a State Department visa. Even Len Hall had . . . when he did ride the train with Nixon . . . a 'Guest' badge." Republican #1 complained of disorganization, this fellow complains of organization; obviously you can't make everyone happy. I joined the Nixon entourage through Iowa and Minnesota also wearing a "Guest" badge. I've been grumbling ever since.

From Republican #4: "Nixon . . . is blue, helpless, paralyzed. He may never get over it completely." Paralyzed? Since he was among the first to shake President Kennedy's hand after the Inaugural swearing-in, perhaps he got a helpful, propulsive kick from Lyndon. Or maybe from Jacqueline. As for the ex-Veep never getting over it completely, I suspect Republican #4 will be whistling a different tune in '64.

Princeton, N.J. WILLIAM H. PETERSON

"Rayburn Republicans"?

I hope that Republicans all over America will duly note and long remember the disservice of the handful of "Rayburn Republicans," like New York's own Congressman John Lindsay, who voted to hand over control of the powerful House Rules Committee to the Kennedy-Rayburn

VIEWPOINT

THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER: PART-TIME SERF

A statement in the public interest by N. J. Gould, president of Goulds Pumps, Inc., Seneca Falls, New York

The average American family man spends about one third of his workweek laboring for the government.

No one questions a man's responsibility to pay his share of government costs. But when he sees confiscatory taxes draining away his income and turning it over to other people to spend, he must begin to ask himself—is all this spending necessary?

A primary target for questioning is foreign aid. In a short fourteen years, we have tossed more than eighty billion dollars of grants, loans, material and technical assistance into the maw of this voracious program.

Spending on a scale like this breeds squandering and waste. But this is not the whole source of our serfdom. Our confiscated tax dollars have gone to help support Red Poland who in turn has agreed to help support the Soviet stooge off our southern coast. We are presently nosing around the Congo looking for ways to aid financially one of the world's weirder nationalisms.

Our willingness to provide for the other countries of the world seems boundless. But if we must be soft-hearted, let us not be soft-headed as well. Withholding aid from the people who seek only to undermine us will not just strengthen our national interests. It will be a boon to the taxpayer, too.

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faction of the Democratic Party.

It is at least possible to see why a Democratic congressman might have voted that way; after all, Democratic Representatives must look to Rayburn for favors almost every day they are in Congress. But why a Republican Representative, who has no such reason to fear "Mister Sam" and who was sent to Washington by voters who have no love for the Speaker, should volunteer to join his factional bandwagon, passes all understanding.

The argument that Rayburn's proposal "liberalized" the House's procedures, so that the whole membership could vote on bills, is a phony through and through. The power of the Rules Committee was not modified in the slightest degree; it was merely handed over by Lindsay & Company to Rayburn and Kennedy, for them to exercise as *they* see fit.

New York City R. T. POST

The Bishop's Objections

I note in NATIONAL REVIEW of January 28 ["To the Editor"] that Bishop James A. Pike objects to my saying that anyone connected with him had helped to foment the riotous demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Now I must admit that I wasn't there, but I am relying on a joint signed statement by seven Baptist ministers of the San Francisco area who were eye-witnesses to the rioting in question. They state: "We are at a loss to understand how clergymen, such as Bishop James Pike, could give any aid and comfort to this lawless kind of activity, by statements deriding the Committee and by allowing his assistant pastor to address one of their despicable rallies."

Detroit, Mich. DONALD D. VAN MARTER

Bishop Pike is loath to object too strongly to being described as "left-of-center." He says the term is "hardly subject to definition."

It reminds me of a talk an advertising executive once gave to a group of Scripps-Howard editors. The ad man told them that the secret of putting out a successful American newspaper is to keep it mediocre.

"Just look across the country," he said, "and you will see that the more mediocre a newspaper becomes, the bigger it gets."

One editor objected, asking for the speaker's definition of mediocrity. The ad man rose to the occasion: "I didn't come here to discuss semantics. Any intelligent questions?" Of course, there were none.

St. Benedict, Ore. PETER F. CLARKE

James A. Pike, although he may not fit the pattern of the episcopate as set forth by St. Paul, is, nevertheless, a Bishop ["*Pace*, Dean," February 11].

He is not a Dean. A Dean is the chief minister of a cathedral. Dr. Pike *was* Dean of St. John the Divine. He is *now* Bishop of California. Calling a Bishop a Dean is like calling a General a Colonel. It simply isn't done.

Kingsport, Tenn. WILLIAM F. FREEHOFF JR.

Sorry. —ED.

Misinformed, He Says

You wrote recently that "the elder Kennedy has even dropped a hint to former Senator Burton K. Wheeler, still moving in Washington legislative circles, that there is a Justice Department position for him."

I don't know where you got that information but whoever gave it to you was completely wrong. First of all, the elder Kennedy never dropped such a hint to me, and secondly, I wouldn't take a position in the Department of Justice even if he wanted to give it to me. On my defeat in 1946 President Truman asked me if there was anything I wanted. I told him that he didn't have anything I wanted or anything I would take, and I haven't changed my mind in the slightest degree.

Joseph Kennedy has been a friend of mine for a great many years and I hope that John F. Kennedy will make a great President, not only for his sake but for the sake of the country. But he, or any other President, is facing many almost insoluble problems in the next four years.

I had 24 years in the Senate, 5 years as U.S. District Attorney and 2 years in the Montana legislature, and I am now definitely out of politics. Some years ago the Republican National Committeemen, the Republican Governor of Montana and other prominent Republicans offered me the Republican nomination on a silver platter to run against Senator Mansfield, and predicted that I could be elected. But I told them at that time that I was not interested—that there

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was no reason why I should quit the Democratic Party to run on the Republican ticket when there was so little difference between the present Republican Administration and the Administrations of Roosevelt and Truman on foreign policy, and so little difference between them on domestic issues.

Washington, D.C. BURTON K. WHEELER

Firm and Resolute

As one of the "two or three people with whom that awesomely talented lady consented to speak in the last years," I am compelled to comment on your reminiscence of Isabel Paterson ["RIP, Mrs. Paterson," January 28].

She sought truth with a steadfastness and clarity of vision that few, if any of us, ever achieve. She lived to the best of her ability (which was great) by the words of the Prophet Micah: "And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Vindictive she was not. Granted, her search for truth and justice often whipped the rest of us and left large burning welts on our foolish pride. You and I and others know that. But to state that her purpose was to "be generally unpleasant to almost everybody" is simply not true. "Fudging" of *any* sort was what Mrs. Paterson could not tolerate.

It isn't likely that you had ever encountered a person who held so firmly to the absolute, even at the risk of being misunderstood and called temperamental or greedy. With Mrs. Paterson, a deal was a deal. You tasted her wrath and you were puzzled as many others have been. But don't brood about it now, for there is little chance that you or all those others will again encounter one who struck out so fiercely for truth in all its forms and so often found it.

Montclair, N.J. M. W. HALL

The Non-Organization Man

Pretty impressive lot that reads NATIONAL REVIEW ["Notes and Asides," February 11], but how about some percentage figures on readers like me? No job, no college degree, no savings, no stocks (not even a small mutual fund), life insurance that is about to lapse, no children, member of no organizations, moved four times within the last 12 months.

On the positive side I have a second-hand car, one wife, one ulcer and I could qualify in the 78 per cent male category. As for being active—the only activity I get is trying to cover the 840 employment agencies in New York City.

How do I fit into the "Organization," man?

East Orange, N.J. BILL DOERRLER

I was quite disappointed . . . to find a differentiation between "Doctor" and "Dentist." My opinion of my professor's educational standard is too high to let this go uncorrected. Please!! *"Physician"* and "Dentist."

Wheaton, Md. DAVID LEWIS, D.D.S.

Progress on the Right

The battle to return education to the public schools rages on. Even here in the wilds of grimly progressive California we find a growing disenchantment among parents and students alike toward status-quo educationists. . . .

During the past two years our organization [Parents for Better Education, P.O. Box 45623, Los Angeles 45, Cal.] has not made a noticeable impact on the NEA, but we have caused

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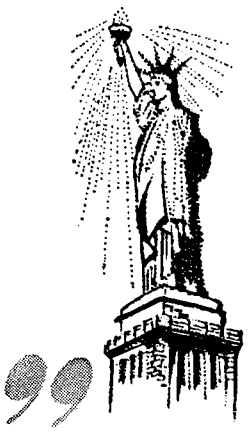
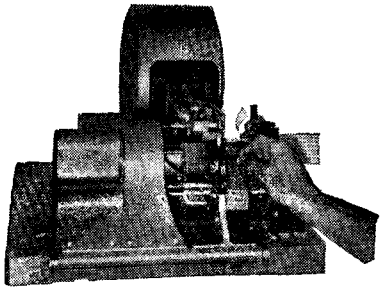
"Indeed the Government is, among other things, the largest electric power producer in the country, the largest insurer, the largest insured, the largest lender and the largest borrower, the largest landlord and the largest tenant, the largest holder of grazing land, the largest holder of timberland, the largest owner of grain, the largest warehouse operator, the largest ship owner, and the largest truck fleet operator. For a nation which is the citadel and the world's principal exponent of private enterprise and individual initiative, this is a rather amazing list."

Rowland Hughes
U. S. Budget Director, 1955



The wolf of socialism wears the clothing of sheep of many breeds. Whether in the guise of farm subsidies, socialized medicine, or government operation of business—each takes away a bit more of our rights as individuals . . . moves us a step further down the road to the slavery of socialism. As individuals and as a Company, we distrust any scheme, whether private or by government, which seeks to take from the dignity of the individual and the freedom of his enterprise. To encourage individual responsibility and creativity and to reward individual accomplishment is not only a philosophy at Brady . . . it's a fact!



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the second-largest school district in the nation, Los Angeles, to "re-evaluate" its reading program. Phonics is out of the bottom drawer at long last, and even the California Legislature Joint Interim Committee on Education is listening.

We should like to learn of other parent groups and individuals throughout the country, and of their efforts for better education. We have five years of research behind us; our files are bulging, and in this case we believe in "sharing."

(MRS.) PATRICIA A. BROWN
President
Parents for Better Education
Los Angeles, Cal.

A Crumb?

Is the RB-47 crumb handed us by Khrushchev intended to cover up his attempt to destroy the UN and take over Cuba, Congo, Laos and many other countries?

And are we going to be silent about the four men on that plane who were slaughtered by the Hitler-type Moscow government?

Brooklyn, N.Y. NATHAN D. SHAPIRO

New Year's Resolutions

May I outline a New Year's resolution for conservatives: namely, to be stinkers and, never mind the stink, win in 1964?

1. We hereby solemnly swear to solemnly urge Nixon and Rockefeller to test themselves at the polls in 1962. "We Want A Winner. A Man Who Cannot Win In His Home State Cannot Win The Nation."

2. We hereby solemnly swear to work like beavers in California and New York, helping the party organization and dragging out the votes—for the Democrats. We thereby neatly doublecross Nixon and Rockefeller, sending them both to defeat, scotching their pretensions.

3. We hereby solemnly swear to moan sanctimoniously over the hard fortunes of these brilliant standard-bearers, and wonder OUT LOUD just WHERE we might find a WINNER?

4. We hereby solemnly swear to begin in January of 1963 promoting Sen. Goldwater *not* as a conservative but as vote-getter "We've Tried Rome. Now How About Jerusalem?"

5. We hereby solemnly swear to do penance for our sins. . . After victory in 1964!

Madrid, Spain PETER CRUMPET

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QUO VADIS, BARRY?

(Continued from p. 108)

dom and self-reliance?—and to give the green light to the prevailing assumption of our day—that the federal government, through positive action, Remembers Forgotten Men Best.

The "defense" for the *Statement* can easily be anticipated. It is, we shall be told, an "action" document, geared to what is "politically possible" *vis-à-vis* both the American electorate and the present Republican Party. Its "strategy," the defense will add, is to give political relevance to the conservative movement in general, and to its leader in particular, by imposing at least a flavor of their views on the public image of one of our great parties.

A skeptic might answer briefly:

1. The *Statement's* views are not, any more than the *Conscience's*, going to govern American society over the next four years. If it is only an oppositional standard we want, why not take one we really want?

2. The conservative movement did not obtain its present political relevance, evidence of which is all around us, by the neo-Nixonism of the *Statement*. Nor is there any reason to expect the movement to grow more influential in the future by adjusting its standards to those of the Republican Party. The party, whether it knows it or not, needs the movement a great deal more than the movement needs the party. And the challenge to all of us is not to reverse that relationship, but to make both movement and party get it through their heads.

3. Senator Goldwater's chances of becoming President will not be improved by his attempting to "accommodate" the Republican Party's alleged center. If the "center" is to choose the party's candidate, it will name one of its own, most probably a certain Los Angeles lawyer.

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